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Contact Group Meeting on Bosnia Crisis Ends

AU2908173395 Paris AFP in English 1715 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Aug 29 (AFP)—An international meeting to consider the latest U.S. peace proposal for Bosnia ended here Tuesday amid a crisis atmosphere triggered by Serb shelling of Sarajevo that has prompted expectations of imminent Western military retaliation.

The closed-door meeting, including members of the "Contact Group" on Bosnia along with representatives from Canada, Italy and Spain, ended at 18:15 p.m. (16:15 GMT), after just more than two hours of talks.

The talks were originally aimed at developing a common policy on the former Yugoslavia but have been overtaken by Monday's Serb mortar shelling of Sarajevo which left 37 people dead and at least 80 injured.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, who is heading the U.S. delegation, made no remarks to reporters after the meeting was over.

Holbrooke, who met Bosnian President Alija Izebetgovic in Paris, is at the start of a new European tour aimed at reviving the peace process. He is due in Belgrade on Tuesday.

The Contact Group is made up of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States.

Chirac Holds 'Private Talks' With Izetbegovic

AU2908184595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 95

[Report by Mujo Delibegovic from Paris]

[FBIS Translated Text] The private talks between Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency, and French President Jacques Chirac lasted about 45 minutes and were held in an exceptionally cordial and friendly atmosphere. This is perhaps best illustrated by the words of the French president, who said during the working lunch that he wanted to create real friendship between France and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is not a political or religious choice, Chirac stressed; we want to be on the side of justice.

In this context, the French president confirmed his country's commitment to preserving the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina, saying that every crime by Karadzic's Serbs should be responded to adequately, which is what the French proposal amounted to yesterday following the massacre in Sarajevo.

The French were in favor of this being done by the Rapid Reaction Force because it now has heavy arms around Sarajevo that it can use effectively. The Americans, however, took the view that this should be done by NATO aircraft. Early this morning, in consultations with General Smith, UN commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chirac accepted the U.S. proposal, although he still thinks the Rapid Reaction Force is a more effective means and is not affected by weather conditions.

The impression here is that France is very committed to punishing the criminals, insisting that attacks are launched on military targets and installations and not the positions from which the attacks are launched and individual weapons, which often end up being some ancient weapons.

The French president holds the view that the U.S. initiative is welcome but that it should be combined with the Contact Group's plan.

President Alija Izetbegovic has stressed the importance of the Mt. Igman road for Sarajevo and supported France's resolve that this road, in combination with the blue routes, be full secured.

Apart from this central event of the official and working visit of our president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation, one should also mention meetings that took place today with other top French officials, such as Defense Minister Charles Millon, Foreign Minister Herve de Charette, and (Xavier Emanuelli), state secretary for urgent humanitarian actions, who promised that France would build a camp for refugees in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Minister Sacirbegovic held talks with the European mediator, Carl Bildt.

At the time this report is broadcast, President Izetbegovic will hold a news conference, for which there is great interest among journalists. Journalists are generally interested in the visit of our state delegation, whose activities are being followed by a large number of respectable television, radio, and newspaper journalists.

Izetbegovic Slams Negotiation Door

LD2908184995 Paris TF-1 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At a diplomatic level, Bosnian President Izetbegovic held talks with Jacques Chirac this afternoon. The French head of state told his opposite number that France is ready to take part in retaliatory action under the aegis of the UN Protection Force following the massacre. Michel Floquet reports:

[Floquet] [Passage omitted] The Bosnian president played the negotiation game, but he set one condition: that there should be retaliation in response to the

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shelling of his town. This evening, he is obviously more than disappointed:

[begin Izetbegovic recording, in Serbo-Croatian, with superimposed French translation] When I am back in Sarajevo, I will suggest the suspension of our participation in the peace process. We want Serb artillery around Sarajevo to be destroyed. This artillery is used only for massacring civilians. We cannot negotiate with a gun at our head. [end recording]

[Floquet] The Bosnian president has decided not to be content with promises. All day, however, Westerners told him that there would be some retaliation. President Chirac even told him personally that French troops are ready to take part. However, nothing happened this evening, and Alija Izetbegovic has slammed the negotiation door and gone back home. [passage omitted]

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Serreqi Says Serb Attack Sabotages Peace Efforts

AU3008125495 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Passage omitted] In a telegram sent to Bosnian Foreign Minister Sacirbegovic, after expressing deep grief and condolences over the victims of the carnage in the Sarajevo market, Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi stresses that the recurrence of such inhuman acts shows the real countenance of the aggressor and those who encourage and legitimate him. At the same time, this is another attempt to sabotage the international community efforts to resolve the conflict and establish peace in the Balkan region. Serreqi demands that the perpetrators and culprits of these massacres be held accountable. [passage omitted]

Berisha Urges 'Stringent Measures' Against Serbs

AU3008112595 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We just received a report from the President's Press and Information Office, in which President Berisha sends his condolences to Bosnian President Izetbegovic over the Sarajevo massacre.

In a telegram sent today to Bosnian President Alia Izetbegovic, President Berisha expresses his condolences on behalf of the Albanian people over the ugly tragedy of the market in Sarajevo, in which over 37 people were killed and more than 84 others were wounded. President Berisha stresses that this barbarous new bombardment of the innocent population by the Serb aggressors shows, once again, the criminal countenance of Karadzic's terroristic regime and that of other Greater Serbia disciples who stubbornly and cynically follow the strategy of genocide and ethnic cleansing by shunning the concern of all the peoples throughout the world over their acts against humanity.

The Serb final response to the latest international community initiatives to put an end to the sufferings of millions of people shows that no one should have any illusion about good will on their part and that only stringent measures and appropriate punishment will force the aggressors to give up their inhuman plans, the telegram states.

Says Air Strikes 'Legitimate Act'

AU3008143995 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Berisha declared today that he hails the massive NATO air strikes launched this morning against the military objects of the Bosnian Serbs. Such an action against the Serbian terrorists is a legitimate act and a well-deserved response to the slaughter caused by them in Sarajevo on 28 August and to many criminal acts, including genocide, which the Serbs have perpetrated during the war in the former Yugoslavia. The combination of such measures with diplomatic negotiations, as seen by previous precedents, is the best and expeditious way to reach an agreement and establish peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Ministry: Serbs Kill Own Troops as Provocation

AU3008144595 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A press release issued by the Albanian Interior Ministry protests the irresponsible and concocted statements made by the Serbian authorities regarding two Serbian troops allegedly killed by Albanian terrorist bands on their territory yesterday. The release states that these unwise declarations simply describe the creation of incidents and provocations to increase tension and enmity against Albanians. The killing and sacrificing of troops to support the accusations against Albanians represents low provocations aimed at creating conflicts. This Belgrade practice is completely discredited.

The Albanian Interior Ministry has taken the necessary measures to ensure security on the border and to avoid incidents there.

Politicians on Possible Balkan War, Alliances

AU2908122695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian on August 20 carries on pages 12 and 13 interviews by Jonila Godole and Altin Hazizaj with three Albanian politicians, totaling 3,500 words, on the approach of war and possible Balkan alliances, entitled "The Shadow of War Is Approaching."

Neritan Ceka, chairman of the Democratic Alliance Party, is reported as saying that the people who know the situation best are the Kosovar prime minister and president, Bukoshi and Rugova, and according to them, war is on the doorstep. Yet Kosova is under international surveillance, he goes on, especially by the United States, which has declared it will not allow ethnic cleansing there. "War in Kosova would not be waged for the purpose of occupying it but for genocide and ethnic cleansing," he says, adding: "A war in Kosova would mean total war in the Balkans." However, he says, "I don't think that there are sides ready to fight in Kosova because the Albanians are subjugated and unarmed, and according to their policy, conflict is ruled out. So war can come only from the Serb politicians."

In the meetings he had in Serbia, Ceka goes on, Albanian-Serb relations were discussed in the light of

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the new conditions created in the Balkans. He says that in the talks, "we concentrated on the optimistic aspects, i.e. a peaceful solution to the problems by consolidating the legitimate right of the Albanians in Kosova to decide on the form of government." Noting that "the political parties in Serbia favor a peaceful solution," Ceka continues: "The Democratic Alliance is for a new Balkans as a guarantee to integration into a new Europe. It is for dialogue and for setting up stable structures among the Balkan states; it is for the transparency of the borders and the free movement of people and goods."

In his interview, the lawyer and former Democratic Alliance leader Spartak Ngjela says that "the Balkan countries bordering the conflict are being given another chance to change or improve the direction of their policies. By this I mean that everybody must understand that politics still depends on the force of arms and Serbia is a very powerful military country." He adds that to balance Serbia, "the time has come for countries like Albania, Macedonia, Croatia, and Slovenia to form a coalition among themselves so that their policy towards Serbia becomes more efficient. A new policy would start up in the Balkans that would hopefully attract Montenegro, which momentarily has no clear perspective." He continues by saying that Italy's consistent policy regarding the Balkans may lead to a trans-Adriatic partnership. As for the displacement of the Serb refugees, he says that the Albanians "should show that we are strong," adding that "Our policy toward Serbia should not tone down until the interests of the sides involved are recognized."

Bashkim Zeneli, deputy chairman of the legislature's foreign policy commission says that if it is a question of the displacement of 100 or 1,000 Serbs to Kosova, i.e. "a very limited number accepted by the Kosovars themselves, this would be nothing special." However, if it is being done according to the deliberate plans of the Serbs, then "the conflict will spread," he says, adding that "the displacement of the colonists to Kosova is unacceptable." He continues, "I appreciate the efforts of Europe and especially the United States, which, given Serbia's strategy for the colonization of Kosova, has declared that a single case of the pursuance of such a policy by Serbia would bring about a U.S. reaction. This is a very positive stand because it will not only stop the Serbs from colonizing Kosova, it will also be a preventive measure against confrontations within Kosova and the spreading of the conflict."

Commentary on Southern 'Displacement' of Albanians

AU2808105495 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 12 Aug 95 p 4

[Commentary by Frrok Cupi: "What Does the Displacement of People Toward the South Mean?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It was for a very strong reason that Albanian President Sali Berisha interrupted his vacation on Vlora beach to make an appeal for the displacement of people toward the south. Political parties and the whole of public opinion are opposing this appeal, saying that the coastal area has its legitimate owners. This argument, though old and legitimate, does not look like being able to halt the process of displacement toward the south. As it seems, the opposition political opinion has not yet studied the facts or considered the truth that lies behind the initial argument.

What is happening now, almost unexpectedly, with the demographic and geographic displacement in Albania, is similar to what is happening in the northern part of the Balkans. Hundreds of thousands of people from Croatia are moving toward Bosnia, from Bosnia to the south, and from the Serb lands to Kosova. There is a difference, though: There the displacement of the people is taking place under the conditions of a bloody war. Luckily enough, our country is outside this war, and we hope it remains outside the upcoming schemes. However, the phenomenon that has swept over the north Balkans is also appearing in our country—southward.

The question arises: Were things coordinated to bring about this coincidence? Or is it something accidental? It is not accidental. A few days ago many foreign news agencies reported that Srebrenica and Zepa had fallen into Serb hands. Thousands of Bosnian Muslims moved south. When the two secure zones were emptied, the war in Krajina broke out. Hundreds of thousands of Serbs moved to the empty zones of Srebrenica and Zepa. No one remembered to say that the Serb Muslims should go to their homes and that the Serbs go to their homes in Knin, etc. On the contrary, it was openly said that most of the Serbs from the Croatian north must settle in Srebrenica and Zepa instead of the Bosnians. Doesn't this look like house-swapping? Meanwhile the rest of the Serbs from Croatia, about 60,000 people, are settling in Kosova, a good part of which has been freed because many of the Albanians have migrated.

These events have taken place within the last few days and there is undeniably a logical link between them. In the meantime Greece has announced that it has heightened the security around its borders. As it seems,

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the Greek Government, considering this phenomenon of displacement toward the south, decided to bring it to a halt at its borders.

What interests us more is what is happening here, in Albania. At a time when no new tensions and speeches were planned, President Berisha left the coast, and gave a speech in Tirana inviting the former owners and north easterners to move to the coastal south. Was there no other time to do this? Was it on the party or government program? No, it was not. The displacement toward the south started simultaneously in the north Balkans, a movement that stops in Vlora and Saranda.

What are the hidden interests behind all this?

1. Berisha's interest in extending his political space. As everyone knows, his credibility is in decline. One of the reasons for this is that Berisha relied mainly on his fellow villagers. But could Albania be supported by a village alone? Even Mr. Berisha felt it when he saw that especially in the south, he and his party had lost most credibility. Under these circumstances it is in Berisha's interest that the coastal south should not remain in the hands of the native inhabitants, but should have also people from "my village." This is how he plans to extend his space.

2. The interest of an influx of people from Kosova. It is common knowledge that west Europeans have made serious signals that they will drive out all immigrants from Yugoslavia, Kosovars included. But many of the latter do not want to return to Kosova, particularly when the settlement of Serbs from Croatia into that territory makes the Albanians' return more difficult. As it seems, it is planned that they settle in Albania, but populating the coast is considered as "unowned land."

3. The interests of some blind nationalists must also be acting. By overpopulating the coastal south, the Greek minority living on these lands may find itself in a tight grip and try to move into Greece. If some problem arises between the two countries, the Albanian legislature (be it the same or another like it) will hastily pass a law that will "settle" the dispute. At least in the last few days there have been no good signs in relations with Greece, and this can forebode bad weather for the future. But the worst sign is the displacement of people toward the south.

Maybe the Albanian politicians will consider this reality in the "south" when they return from their holidays.

Opposition Protests Agenda of Berisha's U.S. Visit

AU2908154995 Tirana POPULLI PO in Albanian 29 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by Eden L.: "Berisha May Meet FBI and CIA Heads"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Berisha's agenda of meetings in the United States has been the subject of a great deal of discussion. We know that, besides his meeting with President Clinton, the Albanian president will also meet the chief of the Pentagon, who sent him an invitation some months ago. Mr. Berisha has accepted the invitation to visit the U.S. defense chief at his headquarters. Albanian diplomats have hotly debated this decision of Berisha's. One of them, who does not wish to be identified, explains that such a meeting would be extremely strange. A head of state visiting another country may agree to meet politicians of this rank only in the lobby of the hotel where he is staying. This analyst claims that it is unacceptable for a head of state to meet a politician of this rank in his office. Berisha's acceptance of the invitation has, therefore, been called a diplomatic blunder.

However, what has prompted the most serious reaction has been the meeting that is said that the president will have with the heads of the FBI and the CIA. This information comes from the headquarters of the Socialist Party, where it has aroused a very bitter response. A meeting between the Albanian president and the directors of these organizations would indeed be a breach of diplomatic norms. A minister of the Albanian Government, but not the head of state, might achieve such a thing accidentally. It looks as if the Albanian president's long visit will become more controversial because of its agenda. Berisha's packed program of meetings will perhaps compromise the expected success of the visit.

A possible meeting with the heads of the FBI and the CIA would prompt an especially bitter reaction from the largest opposition party. The leaders of this party, immediately after receiving the information, came out categorically against any such meeting. However, the Albanian president's timetable is still, strangely, being kept secret. Publishing it, as is done in many countries of the world, would not be anything abnormal.

Serreqi Signs Civil Aviation Pact With Egypt

AU2808142195 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Aug 95

[Report by Nezihat Hoxha]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ministers Serreqi and Musa held a private talk for approximately 15 minutes. The

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official talks between the two delegations then continued at the Foreign Ministry. The meetings were held without the presence of reporters.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman reports that the talks mainly focused on the situation in the region. Egyptian Foreign Minister Musa considered the settlement of the Serb population in Kosova as further extending the conflict south of the Balkans.

Albanian Foreign Minister Serreqi discussed Egypt's role in establishing peace in the Middle East and the contribution to the UNPROFOR forces and the Islamic Congress Organization.

Minister Musa welcomed Albania's membership in the Council of Europe, participation in the Black Sea initiative, and aspiration to take part in the Mediterranean initiative, in which Egypt will render its contribution.

At the end of the meeting, they signed an agreement on civil aviation.

[Begin Industry, Transportation, Trade Minister Panariti recording] The agreement that has just been signed between the foreign ministers of the Republic of Albania and the Arab Republic of Egypt regulates, from a judicial viewpoint, the relations connected with air operations between the two countries. At the same time, the agreement ensures the basis for economically utilizing the airways that pass through both countries. [end recording]

The agreement covers judicial and professional relations in accordance with the legislation of the two countries, based on the international convention on civil aviation, whose members Albania and Egypt are. [passage omitted]

National Merchant Bank Capitalized

AU2908123095 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 19 Aug 95 p 4

[Article by Feti Zeneli: "National Merchant Bank Will Be Capitalized"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Decision No. 425, 14 August 1995, on Capitalizing the National Merchant Bank

On the proposal of the Finance Ministry, the Council of Ministers has decided:

1. The National Merchant Bank will be capitalized, and the sum of 1,726 million leks [L] figuring in its balance sheet will be recognized as its paid-in capital.

2. The Finance Ministry will issue state bonds to the value of L1,726 million, which will not bear interest for five years.

3. The Finance Ministry, the Bank of Albania, and the National Merchant Bank are entrusted with the enactment of this decision.

This decision comes into effect immediately.

Aleksander Meksi, chairman of the Council of Ministers

* * *

On 14 August 1995 the Council of Ministers Decision No. 425, "On Capitalizing the National Merchant Bank," shows that economic reform is being carried out successfully in the banking sector.

In fact, this act has been signed at a time when the compass point of the Albanian economy has begun to turn toward the market economy and when the bank is increasingly becoming the main support for many businesses. The large investments in all areas of the economy, the growth in production, the fall in inflation, and the unfreezing of the foreign debt indicate a situation unparalleled in other East European countries, because the banks, too, are being properly established to successfully carry out the economic reform.

Democracy's ill-wishers who consider the social-Marxist alternative continue to ask "Does Albania have banks?" at a time when famous financial organizations and reputable personalities in the banking world resort to superlatives. The disdain, insults, slanders, and sneers of certain Albanian maniac-Marxists only serve to indicate the morals of these people, and nothing else.

As we know, the National Merchant Bank is responsible for 70 percent of the transactions in the secondary banking system. This bank conducts its activities throughout the territory of the republic, and has accounting ties in every kind of hard currency with 35 of the world's most powerful banks, with whom it carries out payments on behalf of its clients. It conducts correspondence with 250 foreign banks. Working through the Reuter network that has been installed throughout the world's banking system, the National Merchant Bank ensures mutual communication with foreign banks.

The National Merchant Bank's active participation in the domestic and foreign market is associated with the continual efforts of its management staff to change their attitudes and to expand the bank's influence in the business world. The bank currently operates with more that 25,000 clients, and handles almost all the grants and loans given to the Albanian Government. At the start of this year, the number of its loan customers reached the

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figure of 5,000, of whom, according to the bank, more than 86 percent had received credit.

Development loans from foreign countries including Greece, Italy, and Germany are being delivered to support agriculture and agriculture-based industry, which last year alone received about 20 million German marks in credit.

Considering that promptness and punctuality of service are the main factors of success in the field of banking activities, the National Merchant Bank has this year joined the Swift system of financial communication, which has enabled it to join the international bank message transmission network. This has made it possible to establish direct links with all its correspondents and their branches throughout the world.

The increasingly dynamic expansion of the capital and banking activities of the private sector have demanded more effective banking mechanisms, including the introduction of the check. Last year, there was a tendency among customers to use paying-in orders, especially in exports. During this period, the volume of exports and imports exceeded $116,500,000. So far, 50 percent of the paying-in orders in favor of the National Merchant Bank have been on behalf of private individuals and firms, while the bank also has a great deal of work with powerful state-owned customers such as Albbakri, Albkrom, Albpetrol, etc.

The National Merchant Bank has linked the computerization of its activities to the training of its staff in order to confront the increasing demands of the market economy. Last year, about 70 members of staff were trained on various courses at home and abroad, at a cost of about $50,000. This year, almost twice as much has been allocated for training.

Electric adding machines are being replaced by a computer system. Before the end of this year, it will also be possible to transmit data electronically between headquarters and the branches. This will permit this bank, with its already indisputably high reputation, to improve the quality, range, and speed of its services.

The Decision of the Council of Ministers "On Capitalizing the National Merchant Bank" comes at an important moment as a catalyst that will assist the bank to achieve its objectives within the framework of the mass privatization of the Albanian economy. It is the fruit of the joint efforts of the Finance Ministry, the Bank of Albania, and the National Merchant Bank itself to create conditions for up-to-date banking operations.

The capitalization of the National Merchant Bank creates new opportunities for work and offers promising conditions for relations with clients, enabling both sides to realize their potential. The use of assets at the bank's disposal will create powerful resources in order to finance the economy. Current regulations provide the opportunity for the most powerful clients to acquire credit up to $1,500,000.

Just as this decision is important for guaranteeing and licensing the bank, it is also necessary to establish and develop relations with foreign banks and financial institutions. It is expected that such procedures will be completed soon, in order to continue with the privatization process, which is after all the bank's main objective.

At present, capitalization will make it possible to increase the bank's range of products and services, and will improve guarantees for depositors. Deposits will be more secure than ever, because the bank's ability to confront even the most difficult situations that might arise is being increased.

Above all, the decision to capitalize the bank is a sign of the stable macroeconomic policy so far pursued by the Democratic government, and testifies to the healthy state of our finances.

Paper Views Ministers' 'Love Affair' With Banks

AU3008084995 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by E. Brace: "Like Vrioni, Newly Appointed Minister S. Panariti Is President of the Italian-Albanian Bank"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Albanian Government officials again appear in dual functions. The binomial "money world" and "Albanian Government officials" appears to be the symbol characterizing the Albanian transition. Several months ago ZERI I POPULLIT discovered that Mr. Vrioni, deputy prime minister and finance minister, was at the same time president of the board of the Italian-Albanian Bank. This dual function was completely unacceptable under Albanian constitutional provisions—the chapter on incompatibility of government and private or other state functions. Mr. Vrioni's function as president of the Italian-Albanian Bank was also incompatible with his previous function of governor of the Albanian National Bank which he exercised until he became the finance minister. Vrioni rejected this fact, but ZERI I POPULLIT publicized the minutes of an extraordinary board meeting of the Italian-Albanian Bank according to which he continued to be the president of the bank and carried out several tasks in this function while still holding the post of finance minister.

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The scandal broke out when ZERI I POPULLIT published facsimiles of a document showing that Vrioni had received $2,800 from the Italian-Albanian Bank for his services during 1994. Vrioni was not the only one who caused the scandal. Kristaq Luniku, governor of the Albanian Bank was also president of the council of experts of the Italian-Albanian Bank. Adrian Fullani, chief of the Bank of Albania liaison department, was also a member of the council of experts of the Italian-Albanian Bank. Their functions were incompatible with the regulations of the Bank of Albania. Mr. Berisha quite accidentally found himself at the center of the scandal. It was Berisha who appointed Mr. Vrioni as deputy prime minister and finance minister, and it was he who appointed Mr. Luniku as governor of the Bank of Albania while they held other key functions in the Albanian financial sphere.

The Albanian legislature was misled when it voted on Berisha's appointments and was disregarded when the Stockholders Assembly of the Italian-Albanian Bank changed nine articles in its Statute that had been passed by the legislature.

But things did not end there. Last Wednesday [16 August] President Sali Berisha, at the proposal of Prime Minister Meksi, appointed Suzana Panarity as minister of industry, transportation, and trade.

The Italian-Albanian Bank again comes to the fore. We confirmed yesterday that Mrs. Suzana Panariti is president of the Italian-Albanian Bank—again something incompatible with the law.

The "illicit love affair" of the Albanian ministers with the Italian-Albanian Bank is inexplicable. Meanwhile, Finance Minister Vrioni announced yesterday that the National Trade Bank will be privatized soon. This bank is the Albanian shareholder in the Italian-Albanian Bank, whose capital will reach $22 million on 31 December 1995.

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Ministry Calls For 'Cessation' of NATO Attacks

AU3008104195 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We now have the Bulgarian position regarding the reports on the events in Bosnia. Our correspondent Vladislav Ustoich reports from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[Stoychev] Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Khristov has made a statement on Bulgaria's position. The most important points in the statement are as follows:

First, the statement calls for the cessation of all military actions and the start of peace negotiations. Khristov said that we find ourselves in a closed circle of war and bloodshed that follows one and the same scenario; at the moment, when the possibility emerges of finding a peaceful solution, some vandalous act is committed, and the violence continues. Khristov said that Bulgaria continues to support the U.S. peace initiative.

At the moment, there is no likelihood of large groups of Krajina refugees entering Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry (?has requested) Yugoslavia to ensure that the settlement of the refugees should be limited to Yugoslav territory, avoiding areas inhabited by the Bulgarian ethnic minority. According to the information of the Foreign Ministry, so far no more that 160-200 refugees from Krajina have been settled in the Western Outlands. [end recording]

[Announcer] You have just heard Vladislav Ustoich's report on the position of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry regarding the latest NATO attacks against the Bosnian Serbs.

Denounces Sarajevo Bombing

AU2908175395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Nakhum Vlaykov, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, made a statement in connection with yesterday's shelling of Sarajevo's market.

We adhere to the reaction of the international public, which condemned the vandal act, and the assessment that the new tragedy is another proof of the necessity of stopping all military actions and renewing the efforts to resolve the conflict in a peaceful manner, the spokesman said.

We express hope that the perpetrators of the crime will be discovered, unmasked, and punished, the statement reads further. A deep concern with certain still isolated appeals aimed at stopping the peace talks has been expressed. Those appeals contradict every logic, especially at a moment when the new U.S. peace initiative gains growing support, Mr. Vlaykov said.

Zhelev on Refusal To Restore Army Inspectorate

AU2908175895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 29 Aug 95

["Address to the nation" by President Zhelyu Zhelev—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed Compatriots, in connection with the proposal of the Council of Ministers to effect structural and personnel changes in the high ranking commanding staff of the Bulgarian Armed Forces, which have been published in the mass media, I deem it necessary to explain my decisions to you. This necessity is strengthened by the fact that the principle of the civilian control over the Army compels me to do so.

Today, I signed a decree by which I relieve Lieutenant General Simeon Petkovski of his post as head of the Military-Economic Department of the Ministry of Defense because of reaching retirement age. I also relieved Major Gen. Stefan Dervishev, former commander of the 1st Army, of his post at his own request and because of his poor health. I relieved the commander of the 1st Army Staff, Maj. Gen. Ivan Tomov, of his post and appointed him commander of the 1st Army. I appointed Colonel Dragan Draganov, former commander of the Operational Department of the Ground Troops Command as commander of the 1st Army Staff. I appointed Docent Nikolay Kolev, colonel of the Medical Services, head of the General Staff Medical Department. I also appointed Col. Todor Todorov, until now commander of the Yambol Division, deputy commander of the 1st Army. I relieved Col. Stefan Stefanov of the post head of Missile Arms and Radar Equipment at the General Staff.

I did not accept the proposal of the Council of Ministers to relieve of their posts the commander of the Interior Troops, Col. Stoyno Ivanov Petkov; the commander of the Border Troops, Col. Engineer Georgi Rusev Dimitrov; and the director of the National Antifire Service. Lt. Col. Engineer Kiril Mikhaylov Voynov. I found the reasons for their dismissal, as presented by the Council of Ministers, unjustifiable and biased to a large extent. This is especially so when one considers the people who have been proposed to replace them. Those are officers of the reserve, some of whom left the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1990. The officers whom the Council of Ministers wants to replace are people with ideas, initiatives, and energy, (even if they do not enjoy) the understanding and support of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

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I also do not accept the hasty and somewhat ill-advised manner in which the Council of Ministers wants to restore the Defense Ministry Inspectorate. Therefore, I refused to sign the decree regarding the proposed appointments.

First of all, I was disturbed by the fact that the Inspectorate is being restored through a sublegal act—a decree of the Council of Ministers. Naturally, both on the basis of the Constitution and the laws, the Council of Ministers has the right to create such structures in the Army. When the new Bill on Defense and Armed Forces is being debated in the National Assembly, however, it is unjustifiable and inefficient to create such a structure through a sublegal act, in which its tasks are outlined in an unclear and imprecise manner.

The Council of Ministers wants to restore the Inspectorate without first coordinating its structure, functions, and personnel with the president of the republic, who also is the supreme commander in chief of the Armed Forces. In addition, the structure, functions, and payroll of the Inspectorate have not been discussed at military councils and have not been coordinated with the General Staff. The proposed structure and payroll contradict the functions that this organ of the minister is expected to implement within the framework of the principle of civilian control in a contemporary and modernizing Army, namely, observing the legal-normative framework and exercising control over the use of financial means, the military-economic and trade activity of the Defense Ministry, social policy, safety conditions, environment protection, and the complaints of military and civilians.

I also noted the fact that this organ's payroll was formed according to the structure of the Bulgarian Army and not according to the tasks and functions it must implement. According to the proposal of the Council of Ministers it will include an unjustifiably large number of highranking officers who will not implement commanding functions and will not have any responsibility for the troops. Thus, according to the proposal, the Army's command is supposed to expand and include eight additional generals, who will have the title deputy commanders of the General Staff. If the proposed Inspectorate of the minister is indeed created, it could easily develop into a second power center in the purely military part of the Army, and thus generate great tension between itself and the General Staff. This is something that should by no means be allowed. Furthermore, by appointing generals to the Inspectorate, a vacuum will emerge in the military hierarchy. Generals who have not spent even one year in their present posts have been proposed as members of the Inspectorate. This will exercise an unfavorable influence over the Bulgarian Army's combat ability and readiness.

It is my position that one should await the adoption of the Bill on Defense and Armed Forces and then, calmly and without pressure, discuss the role and tasks of the Inspectorate. Only then one should advance toward its practical creation. This could happen at the end of the year or sometime next year. In any event, the Inspectorate of the Bulgarian Army is not the most pressing and urgent need of the Bulgarian Army. There are other much more pressing needs that must urgently be resolved. Among them, the financial situation of the Army, the social problems of the officers, especially the junior officers, the modernization of the weapons, and the reforms in the Bulgarian Army.

Thank you for your attention.

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Amendment to Law on Bankruptcy Proposed

95CH0289C Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 31 May 95 p 13

[Article by Justice Minister Jiri Novak: "Amendment of the Law Will Speed Up the Handling of Bankruptcies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In recent days, the Ministry of Justice completed a proposal for extensive amending of the law on bankruptcies and settlement. There were several reasons for working out this amendment, but the fundamental motive and goal of the work was to speed up and simplify bankruptcy proceedings, while at the same time safeguarding the principle of protecting the creditor, as well as the concept that the fundamental viewpoint involves the attainment of the maximum possible yield, which could be used to satisfy creditors.

Extensive Changes

The year 1993—and particularly the subsequent year—had an unfavorable effect on the status of unresolved cases on the bankruptcy agenda, particularly on the growing difference between the number of proposals to initiate proceedings and the number of declared bankruptcies, which was increasing at a disturbing rate. Bankruptcy proceedings are objectively complicated and prolonged (when compared to comparable foreign experiences, they average around three years); thus, "merely" organizational measures (adding personnel to courts, systematic seminars to counter the inexperience of not only the courts, but also administrators of bankruptcy substances, etc.) were not enough to master this unfavorable development. Because some particular provisions turned out to be the reasons for prolongation, we decided to initiate work on an amendment to Law No. 328/1991 SB. [COLLECTION OF LAWS] on bankruptcies and settlement. As I have already stated, this is a matter of an amendment that is extensive in terms of content, the content of which cannot be fully expressed in a newspaper article. I will therefore focus only on the changes I consider to be most significant.

Primarily, the term "excessive debt" is defined. This definition was missing, hitherto, in the law, and interpretation only made it possible to define it for a businessman. Excessive debt in the amendment is not defined only as the difference between assets and liabilities, but (in the example of some modern laws) takes into account even the possibility for continuing to operate the enterprise in question. This makes it possible for excessive debt not to be considered only as a temporary negative difference in the balance sheet.

A substantial change involves the general introduction of the use of a summons in the form of a declaration on the docket of the court. Given a significant number of entities participating in the proceedings, this method of summoning is highly practical and eliminates delays or difficult-to-solve situations that occurred using the general—that is to say: individual—method of being summoned to court.

Also a novelty is the introduction of a security deposit to cover the cost of bankruptcy (The proposal figures on the payment of 10,000 korunas [Kc]), a measure that pursues several goals. Primarily, this is a matter of making it possible to realize the bankruptcy even if no financial resources are available. Secondly, the provision is designed to make it possible for the administrator of the bankrupt substance to perform his duties from the beginning of his appointment—that is to say: before it is possible to convert the substance of the bankruptcy to cash.

Finally, the duty to deposit a security payment is supposed to prevent misuse of the bankruptcy proceedings.

A Different Definition for the Protective Period

The amendment also devotes attention to the problem of the so-called protective period. This was inserted in the law supplementally, in the form of an amendment dated 1993 with the goal of presenting the danger posed by a massive occurrence of bankruptcies. At the present time, there is no more danger of a sudden wave of bankruptcies, and that provision had lost its original purpose and meaning. In practice, on the other hand, the protective-period provision is occasionally misused. Despite this finding and despite our experiences, however, it is not proposed that this institution be totally abandoned. All modern bankruptcy laws assert a protective period as the first phase of the proceedings, and its goal is to facilitate a conciliatory resolution of the failure. If that is not possible, then it creates the prerequisites for the smooth course of the subsequent phases of the proceedings. It is therefore being proposed that the provision calling for a protective period be altered in such a way as to make possible its approval only in cases where this has real significance so that its course would not result in interrupting the proceedings but would merely constitute a certain phase of the bankruptcy proceedings.

In the event this proposed amendment is accepted, the changes will even impact upon the declaration of bankruptcy. The most substantial of these include the provision in which it is expressly stated that certification of a debtor's failure is enough to declare bankruptcy. This means that before proclaiming bankruptcy, the court will not have to conduct a complete documentation of this fact—something that will be reflected in the rapidity and economy of the proceedings.

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In the Interest of Creditors

One of the fundamental prerequisites for a successful bankruptcy is represented by the legal devices which are used to prevent a debtor, in anticipation of the bankruptcy proceedings, from disposing of his property by a method which would result in damages to the creditor and his interests when he makes use of various property transfers, particularly to reduce the extent of the property which should be part of the bankruptcy substance. Until now, the basic device serving this goal is the so-called contradictory nature of legal actions, through which it is possible to achieve a situation in which actions which diminish creditor benefits are proclaimed as being ineffective against the debtor. The contradictory nature of these actions is in relatively broad use, but its shortcoming is that, in the majority of cases, its subjective side must be documented, that is to say, the debtor's intent to shortchange the creditor, as well as the other side's knowledge of this intent. Such evidence leads to complicated and prolonged conflicts which render the augmentation of the bankruptcy substance by the addition of the subject of the contradictory action considerably more difficult. For this reason, the amendment renders some legal actions which are directly based on the law ineffective. This ineffectuality is not based on the requirement to document the intention to shortchange the creditor and the knowledge on the part of the creditor of this intent. In practice, this change should mean that all handling of debtor property in the last six months prior to submitting the proposal for declaration of bankruptcy will be ineffective in cases which are listed in the law in an across-the-board manner.

The Enterprise Need Not Go Out of Business

A totally new solution is found for a case in which operation of the failed enterprise continues even after proclamation of bankruptcy through the administrator or through a responsible representative who is appointed by the bankruptcy administrator. This pursues the goal, on the one hand, of permitting the enterprise to continue operating under new conditions in some cases and, under the control of creditors, it is possible to achieve a more advantageous relative creditor satisfaction than would be the case if the bankruptcy substance were converted to cash. In addition, with operations at the enterprise continuing, employment conditions are preserved and even other relationships are violated to the minimum extent possible. But continuation of enterprise operations is not generally purposeful, but only in certain cases. The court, therefore, has the opportunity to terminate operations through its decision.

Mockup proceedings on the proposed amendment of the law are currently ending, but the amendment will undoubtedly be the subject of further discussion.

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Daily Views Sestak's Assessment of Bonn Visit

AU2908134395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 28 Aug 95 p 6

[Article by Miriam Mrizova: "Probably Only Sestak Identifies With Sestak's Optimism"]

[FBIS Translated Text] To start with, some of the optimistic statements made by Jozef Sestak, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, during his three-day visit to Germany: "During my meetings in Bonn and during my working consultations, no doubts were raised about the integration of the Visegrad Four countries, and no insinuations were made about Slovakia being left out; quite the reverse. In all of my meetings, I had the impression that we were already talking like partners in the European Union or NATO."

And now, with your permission, some quotes from the most recent commentaries about Slovakia in the foreign press.

Since we are talking about Germany's goodwill toward Slovakia, I will begin with the German daily FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, which wrote the following last week: "The West is attempting with increasing urgency to make it clear to Meciar's cabinet that the new member countries in the European Union and the North Atlantic Alliance should accept the prevailing and not a 'homemade' concept of democracy within these structures."

An August issue of the influential U.S. daily THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote: "Bonn and Washington have stepped up their warnings that such practices could prevent Slovakia from joining NATO and the European Union. Meciar should take this criticism seriously. His style of government has no place in present-day Central Europe."

The prestigious London daily THE FINANCIAL TIMES said: "However, perhaps far more serious is the fact that Slovakia has alienated Germany, where Mr. Meciar would be very happy to pay—for him—an important official visit. Juraj Schenk, the foreign minister, recently presented a gloomy assessment of Slovakia's relations with this the most powerful EU state. He admitted in an interview for the daily PRAVDA that Germany has not supported Slovakia either in its ambitions regarding the EU or 'in any other issue.' To make things even more complicated, the two sides are embroiled in a not very significant, but, despite this, burning dispute over the exact Slovak term for Germany. It is insulting to Germans that the current term sounds as if Germany had still not been unified."

And, finally, the German weekly DER SPIEGEL, which wrote in its last issue about the document that is supposed to be submitted in the fall to the 26 countries that have signed the Partnership for Peace: "The agreements within the Alliance envisage gradual enlargement. Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic should be admitted first. Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Bulgaria should be in the second wave." So much for our series of quotes.

State Secretary Sestak, however, following his return from Bonn, made statements brimming with optimism. With an optimism that no one, apart from him, who could vouch for its justification shares.

The other side, that is, the German Foreign Ministry, limited itself, through its spokesman, to just a dry statement that bilateral cooperation between the two countries and the issue of Slovakia's affiliation with the Euroatlantic structures were the focal point of the talks. According to diplomatic sources, Peter Hartman, the state secretary at the German Foreign Ministry, expressed, on the other hand, the German Government's hope and expectation that Slovakia will not give up on the road it has embarked on toward democracy and a market economy.

During his talks, the Slovak representative also emphasized the importance of direct contacts between Bratislava and Bonn and their continuation at an increasingly higher level. Despite the statement made by Mr. Sestak in an interview for Slovak Television that an invitation from German Chancellor Kohl has been lying on the Slovak prime minister's desk for some time, Vladimir Meciar's possible visit to Germany was not on the agenda of the talks. What purpose would this have served? After all, it is enough to demonstrate the excellently developing relations by means of the upcoming visits by the chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Committee and the state secretary at the Foreign Ministry.

SME had wanted to ask Mr. Sestak directly about these and other inconsistencies at the strange and secret press briefing that he organized following his return from Bonn. The Foreign Ministry too did not disappoint, however, and the ingrained motto of the day—All are equal, but some are more equal than others—has also been extended to the ranks of journalists. And SME is not among the chosen few.

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Editorial Views Recent Coalition Disputes

AU2908131095 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Aug 95 p 7

[Editorial by Janos Desi: "Compromise?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gyula Horn has offered a "compromise" that he must immediately have thought the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] would reject. Because, many people, including SZDSZ Chairman Ivan Peto, have pointed out that appointing new ministers is not the way to solve the confusion in the government, and trade union leader Sandor Nagy's appointment to a ministerial position is out of question.

The prime minister then reiterated that he was sticking to Sandor Nagy, just as he was to the other candidates.

The prime minister obviously knows what he wants, only we seem to be trying to assemble the picture from its parts.

It is possible that Gyula Horn, whose enemies admit he is a shrewd politician, thinks that no matter how vehemently the SZDSZ protests, it will eventually agree with what the prime minister regards as the most important thing. All the more so, because the SZDSZ has no choice. Should they sit with the opposition, between the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP] and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]? Besides, if they have already decided to quit the coalition, the SZDSZ should do it with an eye to the next elections, when most citizens could praise them for having the courage to leave their comfortable armchairs for their voters. However, I hardly believe that the hearts of masses of people will fill with gratitude because the SZDSZ prevented Nagy's appointment as deputy prime minister. Therefore, the SZDSZ will stay, only its credibility will dwindle, and Horn might benefit from this in the future debates.

The other possibility is that the prime minister wants to get rid of the SZDSZ, and he is only waiting for the SZDSZ itself to denounce the coalition agreement. For this purpose, Horn constantly comes up with proposals that he knows are unacceptable to the other side.

The Socialists have a majority in parliament, and Sandor Nagy has already mentioned that one of the current opposition parties might get into the government.

Of course, the issue here is not only who might get Gabor Kuncze's interior ministry armchair, for example. It is hard to imagine that Lajos Bokros will remain finance minister, while Sandor Nagy is economic minister in a post-SZDSZ government.

The possibility of a compromise is increasingly remote.

Minister Suchman on Progress of Privatization

AU2808193295 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 26 Aug 95 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Tamas Suchman, minister without portfolio in charge of privatization, by Maria Lakatos; place and date not given: "I Undertook To Politically Manage Privatization"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Lakatos] In recent weeks, we have seen an actual war of numbers over the size of the privatization income. At the same time, bids have already been called in for some of the biggest Hungarian companies. Even if only some of them are sold, the privatization income can be many times more than planned. How much income are you actually expecting?

[Suchman] I never give figures. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the state assets amounting to 1 trillion forints [Ft] are being privatized. I am proud of our results so far. At the beginning of March, we still did not have a privatization law, and the unified organization was established on 1 July. The November 1994 government decision on the privatization of strategic companies has not been implemented. Basic legal regulations, the energy law, and the amendment of the law on local governments were missing. We had three months for all these. In my view, however, privatization has been speeded up by now, even if, precisely because of the new law, we have had to suspend the sale of companies worth less than Ft600 million, which were regrouped for simplified privatization. If I had not done this, then I would have now been criticized for removing these companies from the competence of the law.

[Lakatos] The Finance Ministry and the State Privatization and Asset Management Corporation [APV Rt] have published completely contradictory figures on the privatization income of the first six months. How much money was actually received?

[Suchman] Some Ft40 billion: The income was Ft29.5 billion in the first six months, but we have since sold the shares of the EGIS [pharmaceutical company] and the OTP [National Savings Bank]. Therefore, the income now exceeds Ft40 billion, and I did not plan more, anyway. I do not find it good that hysterical voices sometimes accompany the sale of the state assets, however, I will not let myself be pushed about because I have an enormous responsibility. The MVM [Hungarian Power Plants Trust] is Hungary's biggest ever property with its Ft600 billion in assets. What happens if, due to wrong impulses, I make bad decisions that can only be corrected over decades? [passage omitted]

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[Lakatos] The news of your talks regarding the MATAV [Hungarian Telecommunications Enterprise] was a big surprise. Everyone, including the financial adviser, believed that the still state-owned shares of this telephone company would be sold next year, and then it turned out that you have already held talks with the German owner.

[Suchman] The adviser is bound by the commission received from the APV Rt, and he can only use his given mandate. My mandate is to examine all possibilities before a decision is made so that we can choose from the best offers. I find it natural to talk to the current owners of MATAV. Deutsche Telecom is a good partner; it has so far fulfilled its commitments, however, it is also an extremely tough partner. I would find it absurd to make a decision without first consulting them. The same applies to the U.S. owner. The analysts ignored the fact that these companies are strategic, rather than financial investors.

[Lakatos] In the spring, you promised that people with compensation notes would also be able to receive shares from the state assets, even from those of the strategic companies. Not much of this has yet come true.

[Suchman] I will keep my word. We will set apart a section of the assets of the major strategic companies, first for those people who originally received the compensation notes. This can be done after the bids are closed, in the autumn. We will also provide an opportunity for Hungarians living beyond the border to swap shares. We are in the process of organizing the institutional system to implement this.

Economists Give 6-Month Data, Annual Forecast

AU2908145095 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Aug 95 p 12

[Article by Economic Research Institute and Post Bank Corporation: "The Population's Consumption Continues To Decrease—The Real Value of Earnings Is 11 Percent Less Than Last Year"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The effects of the stabilization measures have become increasingly noticeable in recent months: The deterioration of the national economy's balance has slowed down. The economic policy changes have significantly restricted domestic demand, made imports expensive, and improved the relative profitability of exports. However, the level of improvement is lower than expected in the area of exports and foreign economic balance.

The central price measures, devaluation, and increase in taxes and customs duties accelerated inflation: Consumer prices were 27.4 percent higher in the first half of 1995 than in the same period last year. The growth rate of net earnings slowed down and only amounted to 13.7 percent which means that their real value decreased by almost 11 percent. The population tried to counterbalance the drop in the real value of earnings by reducing their savings, but even then, retail trade decreased by 5 percent compared to the first half of 1994.

Gradually, the acceleration of inflation started to slow down: The monthly consumer price increase was only 0.9 percent in July as opposed to 4 percent in March. We expect the annual price increase to remain below 30 percent. As pressure to increase wages will probably grow in the remaining part of the year, we assume that the reduction of the net real wages will be 10 percent by the end of the year. All in all, the population's consumption will be reduced by a little more in the second half of the year than it was in the first half. It is a favorable phenomenon that, as opposed to the reduction in consumption, investments increased by some 7 percent in the first six months compared to last year, and the growth mainly materialized in investments serving modernization, primarily in imported machinery. However, we assume that the increase of investments will be lower in the second half of the year.

Domestic demand was lessened which is shown in the slower increase of production and in the increased share of exports. For example, domestic sales only increased by 2 percent in industry while export sales increased by 25.7 percent.

In the first half of the year, the stabilization measures could not ensure a satisfactory increase of exports: Although exports surpassed the 1994 first six-month level by 14.5 percent at current prices in U.S. dollars, considering the world market price increases and the weakening of the dollar, this only meant a 0.2 percent volume increase (which actually means stagnation). Despite the restriction of demand, imports rapidly increased in the first quarter, but they started to drop sharply from March after the devaluation and the introduction of the supplementary customs duty. Even then, the increase amounted to 17.4 percent in U.S. dollars and 1.9 percent in volume in the first six months. We expect imports to continue to decrease, and that the yearly amount of the trade balance deficit can be pushed to around $3 billion. The current account deficit will be a similar amount.

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Akashi: Air Strikes Not 'Declaration of War'

AU3008091195 Paris AFP in English
0840 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 30 (AFP)—UN special envoy to ex-Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi backed Wednesday's massive NATO airstrikes against Bosnian Serb position around Sarajevo and said the raids marked only the first phase of the operation.

"I think after that most tragic incident on Monday, this action is quite proper," Akashi said, referring to a Serb mortar shell attack that killed 37 people in Sarajevo.

He would not specify what the next phase of the NATO operation would entail and insisted that the strikes did not amount to a "declaration of war."

"The United Nations has not declared war on anybody," he said, adding that the UN planned to stay in the Bosnian capital "as long as necessary."

He said that the only hope for peace now rested in the US initiative being discussed by the international community.

NATO warplanes overnight launched massive airstrikes against Serb positions around Sarajevo. The strikes were continuing by mid-morning Wednesday.

Janvier: NATO, RRF Dealt 'Important Blow'

AU3008140695 Paris AFP in English
1335 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 30 (AFP)—NATO air strikes dealt an important blow to Bosnian Serb artillery around Sarajevo, and could mean the end of the seige of the Bosnian capital, the commander of peacekeeping troops in ex-Yugoslavia said Wednesday.

"We need now to gauge the results of this operation, its essential objective being to eliminate the threat of heavy weapons against Sarajevo, and put an end to this type of attack," General Bernard Janvier told a news conference at the UN headquarters in Zagreb.

He added that the strikes that began overnight and continued through mid-afternoon Wednesday could "contribute to the lifting of the seige of the city."

"I hope this action constitutes a new step in favor of peace, and that it will bring the parties to the negotiating table," he said, adding that the strikes "dealt an important blow to Serb artillery around Sarajevo."

The NATO strikes, backed by the UN Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] artillery, were in retaliation for a Bosnian Serb mortar attack that killed 37 people in Sarajevo Monday.

The United Nations and NATO "established plans to divide up the (Bosnian Serb) targets using the means available in the urban zone of Sarajevo. It was easier for us to strike with artillery" of the Rapid Reaction Force, Janvier said.

"We must pursue evaluation with NATO on what air defenses remain in order to measure the residual risks," he said. "The Bosnian Serb forces still have their 24 planes at the airport at Banja Luka," in northern Bosnia.

The United Nations has maintained contacts with the Bosnian Serbs throughout the operation, he said. "I sent a letter to the military chief of the Bosnian Serbs, General Ratko Mladic, and other other contact will soon be established," he said. "I explained in my letter to General Mladic the reasons for this operation," he said. "I insisted on the fact that we sent him a number of warnings in the past that there would be a response if new attacks were aimed at UN safe areas."

Asked if any UN peacekeepers were taken hostage in resprisal, Janvier said he had no such information. "In order to reduce this kind of risk, we modified the deployment of our forces around Sarajevo before this operation," Janvier said.

Janvier said the targets were chosen so as to reduce the risk of collateral damage.

UN Action Aimed To Eliminate 'All Threat'

AU3008070195 Paris AFP in English
0641 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 30 (AFP)—A combined NATO and UN Rapid Reaction Force action against Bosnian Serb military was still under way Wednesday morning, a UN Protection Force spokeswoman said here.

Spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki, speaking at 8:00 a.m. (0600 GMT), said it would be up to the commanders involved to decide when the operations should end. She added that the aim of the operation, which started in the early hours of Wednesday, was aimed at "eliminating all threat of attack against the Sarajevo safe area." Sarajevo is one of several parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina declared a safe area by the UN.

Start of Joint NATO, RRF Action Reported

AU3008085195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Command based in Sarajevo this morning confirmed the beginning of combined operations by NATO and the Rapid Reaction

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Force [RRF] against the aggressor's positions near Sarajevo. Because of the delicacy of the operations and secrecy of information about it, the only thing I can tell you at this moment is that somewhat after 0200 [0000 GMT], combined forces of NATO and the RRF started striking Bosnian Serb artillery positions around the city, [word indistinct] UNPROFOR spokesperson Myriam Sochacki said. It is a substantial operation in which aircraft and (?heavy) artillery [word indistinct] took part. Myriam Sochacki then confirmed to BH PRESS that neither UNPROFOR units nor the RRF have any casualties, but that there has already been a certain artillery response by the aggressor forces. Several shells have fallen in the close vicinity of the (?height) where the Sarajevo [words indistinct] has been positioned. We have recorded a large number of explosions in the city itself, but so far we have no more information about that, UNPROFOR spokesperson Myriam Sochacki told BH PRESS agency at 0630. One will probably be able to disclose more details at the regular news conference today [words indistinct].

NATO, RRF Synchronize

AU3008124695 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] NATO planes have bombarded residential sections of Sarajevo and civilian targets in the city three times. After last night's air strikes, which occurred at 0200 [0000 GMT] and between 0400 and 0445, NATO planes attacked the wider Pale area and Serb Sarajevo again at 1100 today.

Although there is no official information concerning casualties, it is certain that there are wounded and killed. The general alarm has been sounded in all Serb municipalities in Sarajevo and the people have been asked not to leave the shelters.

Rapid Reaction Force units deployed on Mt. Igman have synchronized their activity with NATO air force, as have the Muslim forces deployed on the mountain, at Sokolovic Kolonija, Hrasnica, and the Muslim part of Sarajevo.

NATO air strikes were carried out not only on Serb Sarajevo, but also on the Serb municipality of Gorazde and the Serb villages on the southern slopes of Mt. Majevica, towards Tuzla, this morning.

Rapid Reaction Force units deployed on Mt. Igman, as well as the Muslim forces from Gorazde and Tuzla, joined in the attack on the Serb parts of Sarajevo, particularly civilian targets.

RRF Fires Over 600 Shells

LD3008103595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1022 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 30 (TANJUG)—UN Rapid Reaction Forces on Wednesday morning fired over 600 mortar and artillery shells at Bosnian Serb targets in a coordinated attack with NATO jets, UN Spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Pierre Briere said in Sarajevo on Wednesday.

Briere said the French, British and Dutch shelling around Sarajevo took place between 0445 to 0730 hrs local time (0245 and 0530 gmt), foreign news agencies report.

The targets were ammunition depots, said Briere and added that an important depot near Lukavica, southwest of Sarajevo, had been destroyed.

Raids Under Way in Gorazde, Tuzla

AU3008085995 Paris AFP in English 0823 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 30 (AFP)—NATO warplanes taking part in massive air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions around Sarajevo Wednesday have also targeted Serb positions near the Moslem-held towns of Gorazde and Tuzla, a diplomatic source said here. A NATO southern command spokesman in Naples, Italy, refused to confirm the report.

The reported raids were part of a massive retaliation being carried out by both NATO planes and the UN Rapid Reaction Force for a Serb attack on Sarajevo that killed at least 37 civilians on Monday.

Most of the raids which began at 2:00 a.m. (0000 GMT) were concentrated on Bosnian Serb artillery positions and weapons depots in the Sarajevo region, a UN spokesman said in that city.

Gorazde is located east of Sarajevo and Tuzla is north of the Bosnian capital. Both regions are part of five enclaves declared "safe areas" by the UN Security Council.

Civilians, Military Hit in Gorazde

LD3008103495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0925 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Srbinje, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—The war presidency of the municipality of Srbinje (formerly Foca) has confirmed that NATO planes this morning on two occasions, at about 0100 GMT and 0700 GMT, bombed civilian and military targets in the area of this municipality and the Cajnice area.

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In the first attack, six NATO planes bombed the transmitter station on Mt. Kmur and several civilian targets in the area of the municipality of Cajnice.

In the second attack, civilian targets in the village of Ustikolina on the road between Srbinje and Gorazde were hit by missiles and heavy bombs dropped from planes. It is claimed that in the attack several apartments were hit and set on fire.

There is still no information about casualties but it is presumed that there are several civilian casualties, because apartments were hit and material damage is exceptionally great.

Teaching in schools in the Srbinje and Cajnice area has been suspended. Air raid alerts are in force in both these places, the population is in their shelters, and telephones lines are down.

Izetbegovic: We Have To Change U.S. Plan

BR2808133295 Madrid ABC in Spanish 28 Aug 95 p 28

[Interview with President Alija Izetbegovic by Baron Branimir Brijevic in Sarajevo; date not given: "Sarajevo Will Never Be Subject to UN Control"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The president of Bosnia-Herzegovina no longer has his back to the wall ever since the Serbs stopped pushing back (Izetbegovic's) militias, which are still inadequately armed. Now the Serbs are being forced to withdraw. Support from the Croatian artillery and infantry has filled the Bosnian president with courage. He is now more hopeful than ever about recovering his tormented country, despite all the rumors of a partitioning of Bosnia agreed between the Serbs and Croats. On Saturday [19 August] three American diplomats died, including Robert Frasure, representative of the Contact Group.

[Brijevic] What do you like least about this plan?

[Izetbegovic] Perhaps it would be more correct to say what displeases me most. The problem lies with the status of the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo, which would remain under UN control. We have no illusions about the United Nations' capability of controlling Sarajevo. The Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia, namely Zepa and Srebrenica, were under UN control, and were also under UN protection. And what happened? Serb artillery constantly bombarded those enclaves. Only once did NATO bomb a tank near Gorazde, and that was it. In Zepa and Srebrenica we saw quite clearly what UN control and protection mean. When Srebrenica was taken all men who were fit to fight were separated from everyone else, including boys older than 12. They were moved to an unknown destination. Everyone was content to just look on, and everyone knew that thousands of unarmed soldiers were being killed. There are totally impartial satellite pictures of the common graves, therefore the United Nations should immediately demand air strikes against Serb positions. Women in the enclaves were systematically abused, raped, and condemned to starve for years. The rest of the inhabitants were kicked out of their homes. Even their own diplomats died because the United Nations was not even in a position to open the Butmir Airport to humanitarian flights. Even diplomats had to get to Sarajevo for the talks via the single, extremely dangerous Igman road. And now they want us to accept this plan to put Sarajevo under UN control. That will never happen!

[Brijevic] So what are you still hoping for from the United Nations, from NATO, and the United States?

[Izetbegovic] For a long time now the West has predicted that there would be air strikes against Serb positions in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For a long time we counted on concrete operations which, however, did not materialize. We thought that the United Nations and NATO, i.e., the West, would have to do something sooner or later, if only for its own salvation. However, Croatia has demonstrated with "Operation Storm" that, until that happens, one can only count on oneself and not on the West. Our confederal relationship is growing increasingly closer, especially since Croatia saved the Muslim enclave of western Bosnia [Bihac]. The time had come to protect Croatian interests.

[Brijevic] Is the West really so insensitive? Were the air strikes not supposed to put an end to the suffering of the Bosnian people?

[Izetbegovic] The West knows perfectly well that the political changes that were so hoped for in Serbia have not changed anything. Unfortunately, the situation can only be changed on the battlefield. The balance which emerged after Croatia's liberation of Krajina allows us to hope that Serbian President Milosevic will be forced to negotiate on an equal footing. As long as this incredible collection of weapons is located in Serbia and in the states allied with Serbia, there can be no fundamental change. Arms can sometimes create a "leader" for a sick people.

[Brijevic] Do you put the Serbian Serbs on the same level as the Bosnian Serbs?

[Izetbegovic] No, not at all. Milosevic may be the exponent of a sick and paranoid proliferation of arms in the recent history of Yugoslavia, but he is still the elected president of Serbia, something which cannot be said of [Bosnian Serb leader] Karadzic at all.

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[Brijevic] Is that why you refused to recognize the Serb Republic, as provided for in the American plan?

[Izetbegovic] Of course. We will never recognize the Pale [headquarters of self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb Government] leadership. That is a regime based on genocide. Its slogan is that 100 Muslims should be killed for every Serb that dies. For this reason we are prepared to negotiate, especially with Serbian President Milosevic, on one condition: He has to accept the fundamental rights of the non-Serbian population of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Brijevic] Milosevic started the war and has committed acts which are hard to put right. What solution do you see for this?

[Izetbegovic] A peace plan must guarantee the absolute respect of human rights. The plan must unconditionally guarantee the right of people who have been expelled to return to their homes. Private property must be protected. In this respect we would be pleased to accept any Western support, because that is a starting point. This has to be possible because the houses that the people built, homes from which they were expelled and which they had to abandon, now belong to other people. I know it is difficult to fix this, but I do not see any other possibility for a fair peace. War criminals must be taken to court. They must be punished, although I still have doubts about how to punish someone who murdered thousands of people or who ordered their execution. If we want peace, then it is necessary to set up an international institution for the renewal of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for our federation with the Bosnian Croats, and the confederation with the Croatian Republic. I do not see any other solution.

[Brijevic] So it would be hard to implement a plan without the military support of the international community and NATO?

[Izetbegovic] The forces of the countries represented in the Contact Group should guarantee its implementation and supervision. Despite all the comments, their plan has so far been the only one we accepted a year ago. The Serbs did not want to accept the plan, and now another one is being drafted that we cannot and will not accept unconditionally. Support from the United States would also be very well received.

[Brijevic] Do you really think that a federation with the Bosnian Croats and a confederation with Croatia can survive and flourish?

[Izetbegovic] I am sure of it, since the Croatian and Muslim peoples are essentially mixed and there has never been a war between them throughout their history. We have to start by saving an internationally recognized state, Bosnia-Herzegovina. With economic support from the West, our two countries would become Europeanized very quickly. I am convinced of that, because despite our tradition we have always been part of the West. We also have to change the U.S. plan in the first place, and then guarantee economic aid and political support from the international community, not only in Bosnia but also in Croatia.

[Brijevic] The [Bosnian Muslim] rebels in western Bosnia have taken refuge in Krajina. Are they going to stay there? What happened with the leader of the rebels, Fikret Abdic?

[Izetbegovic] What is certain is that the inhabitants of western Bosnia were tricked by their leader "Babo" Fikret Abdic. He collaborated with our enemies and, in actual fact, betrayed his people. He is currently under house arrest in a Zagreb hotel, and visits a hospital from time to time because his health is in ruins. We are still thinking about how to encourage the inhabitants of western Bosnia to return to their homes. We are prepared to guarantee total safety and human rights to all refugees from western Bosnia and we believe that the Croatian Government will help us lift the refugees' fear.

Izetbegovic Praises Chirac for Resolve

AU2908190895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today held talks with French President Jacques Chirac in Paris, B-H PRESS reports.

The two presidents started their meeting with private talks that lasted 45 minutes. The talks were then continued at the working lunch, which was also attended by the delegations of France and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It appears that the French president is determined to make the effort that is needed to respond more effectively to the aggressor's attacks on civilians. The procedure involved in making decisions on this is still in the hands of the United Nations and neither France nor the Rapid Reaction Force can act outside the system.

However, it appears that the lack of action so far has led to the conclusion that something must be changed. The deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force and its recently arrived weapons, which consist of 120-mm mortars, 155-mm guns, and other heavy weapons of deterrence, could be the means with which the aggressor could be deterred from action.

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The initial impression is that the French president is determined to do something specific in that respect. Of course, Chirac's view is that France cannot act alone, just as no other country can act alone, and the international community as a whole should act and demand that the criminals be punished so that attacks on civilian targets stop.

This assumes action against all aggressor's military targets, and not only those from which the crime against civilians has been committed.

It is thought that President Chirac is very specific, and that there already are specific shifts toward actions that should follow, not only because of the need to protect UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], but also because of the attack on civilian targets in Sarajevo, to which the Rapid Reaction Force should respond adequately.

This idea is being nurtured in Paris and its should receive the power of a political option. However, this requires the consent of all members of the international community.

Regarding Bosnia, it primarily relies on its own forces and friends, but must nor ignore the fact that the Rapid Reaction Force does exist.

Airs Current Issues

LD2908215695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following his very open, 45-minute conversation with French President Jacques Chirac, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic held an exceptionally well-attended and successful news conference this evening. In his introductory remarks he said that his visit to France was overshadowed by the crime committed by the aggressor in Sarajevo yesterday. We have Mujo Delibegovic reporting from Paris:

[Delibegovic] This was also the reason behind the four-hour delay in arriving in Paris. For, as President Izetbegovic said, the delegation considered returning to Sarajevo, but the desire not to disrupt the peace process had prevailed. The international community was expected to react as soon as last night, but even today there were no signs that the reaction was coming. According to the president, this can affect the peace process.

Speaking in the presence of a large number of journalists, the president said that on his return to Sarajevo he will suggest that our delegation suspend its participation in the peace process until the Serb artillery around the town, which is there exclusively to kill civilians, is silenced. Until this is done, we will not negotiate, President Izetbegovic was adamant.

Speaking about his talks with President Chirac, Mr. Izetbegovic described them as very open and useful and said that with President Chirac a new French policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina is being inaugurated.

Replying to numerous current questions about the U.S. initiative, the demilitarization of Sarajevo, the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], allegations of the desire to create an Islamic state, and other issues, the president of the presidency said he is not acquainted with all the details of the U.S. plan, but that two essential questions have been left undefined, the consitutional solution for Bosnia and the maps.

He said that the demilitarization of Sarajevo is not a consideration because we have the unfavorable experience of Srebrenica; that Bosnia-Herzegovina still needs UNPROFOR; and that no kind of Islamic state is being created, nor is there a desire to do this. President Izetbegovic underscored this by pointing to the composition of his delegation, which includes a Serb, Assembly Speaker Miro Lazovic; a Croat, Federation President Kresimir Zubak; and a Serb, Nikola Kovac, Bosnia-Herzegovina ambassador in Paris. He stressed that his only desire is that Muslims and Islam will be free in this state.

And finally, we have the news that this evening President Izetbegovic was presented with an appeal by 22 Nobel prizewinners from all over the world, in which they seek the ending of the war, and actions instead of words. We also have the news that several hundred French people carrying banners expressing solidarity with Bosnia-Herzegovina demonstrated throughout the day in front of the hotel in which our delegation is being accommodated. The delegation continues its visit to France tomorrow.

Ambassador Misic Views U.S. Peace Initiative

MS3008122195 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 29 Aug 95

[Interview with Ivan Misic, ambassador to the UN, by Peter Snow; Misic in New York, Snow in London; from the "Newsnight" program—live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Snow] What would be the effect if Martin Bell's [BBC correspondent in Sarajevo] concerns that there may be, he gives the impression that it is possible there may be no retaliation against the Bosnian Serbs, what would be the effect of that, do you think?

[Misic] I strongly believe that Serbs would become a more serious and more convinced that they have no

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other choice but to negotiate in good faith after rejecting all other peace proposals. I do believe that they have to see a lesson which would be decisive and strong enough to convince them to rethink their behavior and to try to behave themselves and to come for peaceful resolution of the Bosnian tragedy.

[Snow] Can the Americans count on you to go on talking, whatever happens, and to accept their peace plan?

[Misic] We have demonstrated many times our cooperativeness, our readiness, our willingness to negotiate and to accept even unjust peace plan. That simply can be confirmed by the acceptance of the so-called Contact Group peace plan that has come out to be the form of 51-49, and we are certainly ready to continue negotiations on the basis of American peace initiative as well. But as you probably know President Izetbegovic has stated tonight in Paris that he has decided to suspend Bosnian delegations participation in the final peace talks until all the artillery pieces around Sarajevo are destroyed or put out of commission.

[Snow] Yes, but if talks can be got moving on the American peace plan again, assuming that there's some suitable satisfaction of your determination over retaliation against the Bosnian Serbs, what about this idea of giving up the eastern enclaves, including perhaps Goradze?

[Misic] I have again to remind you of President Izetbegovic's statement that was made several days ago when American media published the story about American proposals that would include a kind of trade off of territories, some territories around Sarajevo for Goradze. He had clearly rejected such a possibility. Goradze is not a bargaining chip.

Silajdzic on Impact of NATO Air Strikes

AU3008154495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Aug 95

[Report on a news conference by Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Nada al Issa, in Zagreb on 30 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The bombing of the Serbian positions is very important for the restoration of peace. NATO pact action restores the authority of the international community, Prime Minister Silajdzic emphasized.

Have NATO air attacks weakened the forces of Karadzic's Serbs sufficiently? What is important, prime minister says, is that the international community finally showed the resolve and political will to defend Bosnia-Herzegovina if it does not want to lift the arms embargo and allow it to defend itself. We have demanded from the international community for a long time, prime minister pointed out, to either abolish the arms embargo or help itself. It evidently opted for this second option. A little late, but better late than never, as so far it has kept our hands tied.

The issue of the arms embargo continues to be topical, because this is the only way to achieve a balance of powers and force the aggressor to negotiate. We are not demanding arms to wage a war but to restore peace, the prime minister reminded resolutely, and added: We called for a cessation of the peace negotiations only to coerce the international community into action. The NATO pact action is a warning to Belgrade to think again about the peace talks. It must be clear to Belgrade now that it no longer has the exclusive monopoly on force.

The Rapid Reaction Force also attacked the Serbian positions on Mt. Igman. Will [words indistinct] the stance of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government toward these troops? These are useful troops, the prime minister said, and they have permission to deploy themselves throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their action finally demonstrates the resolve of the international community. This could force the aggressor to negotiate.

Will the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government accept a delegation of Karadzic's Serbs as negotiators within the framework of the delegation of the so-called Yugoslavia in any possible future talks? We will accept them in the interest of peace, the prime minister says, and they are Belgrade's pawns anyway.

NATO also attacked the Serbian positions around Gorazde, however, what will become of Gorazde itself was one of the questions. Does the U.S. plan truly envisage the exchange of Gorazde for the Serbian Sarajevo? This is a Serbian and not a U.S. plan, Prime Minister Silajdzic retorted, adding: We already have the Contact Group plan and although it is unjust, we accepted it solely in the interest of peace.

What is the next step after the NATO pact action? The implementation of the Contact Group plan, the prime minister says. The first step should be the trip of Mr. Holbrooke to Belgrade where he should remind Milosevic that peace plans cannot be changed all the time. [passage omitted]

Muratovic: NATO Action 'Far-Reaching'

AU3008143895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In a statement for BH PRESS, Hasan Muratovic, chairman of the State Committee for Cooperation with the United Nations, said that

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NATO's latest air raids on the aggressor's positions are an expression of the international community's final resolve to fight Serb fascism in these regions. This action has been the most serious so far and, by all accounts, will not end in the same way as the previous ones. The results of this action will be far-reaching, Muratovic said.

According to Minister Muratovic, the continuation of [word indistinct] on the positions of Karadzic's Serbs will largely depend on how the Pale junta behaves.

The Serb shelling of Sarajevo this morning must be seen as a vain attempt to deter the Rapid Reaction Force and NATO from action. This time, such [word indistinct] tricks will not find fertile ground, Muratovic pointed out.

Commenting on the sudden decision of the Pale parastate's self-styled parliament to accept the U.S. peace initiative, Muratovic pointed out that even before this NATO action, there was a certain readiness there to accept this initiative. This is an unavailing move by Karadzic to [word indistinct] peace negotiations. The international community has publicly made it known that [words indistinct] to negotiate with a criminal. [passage indistinct].

Government: Raids 'Justified,' 'Somewhat Delayed'

AU3008114395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government considered the NATO raids on the Serb aggressor positions this morning justified, albeit somewhat delayed, a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina has told BH PRESS.

This (?NATO) action is in conformity with all relevant Security Council resolutions and other decisions of the international community, [words indistinct] initiated by yesterday's letter by Mr.Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

We fully support the action and do not consider it to be completed. We expect a statement soon [word indistinct] results of the action, the Foreign Ministry spokesman told BH PRESS. He added that there is no point in negotiating or participating in any peace process while civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina towns are being killed, just as there is no point in negotiating with people [word indistinct] for war crimes and genocide.

Bicakcic: Europe, U.S. 'Found Their Soul'

AU3008112695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the journalists' appeal, Edhem Bicakcic, acting member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice chairman of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], has given a [word indistinct] statement on the occasion of the NATO aviation action this morning.

Europe and the United States have finally found their soul. A decisive military action is more necessary to the free world than it is to us. Peoples of this (?continent) need clear proof that their governments have not shamefully capitulated before the new fascism, and that democracy and human rights have not yielded before the policy of planned systematic genocide, the darkest nationalism, and apartheid.

Proof that democracy has reinstilled self-assurance, dignity, and confidence into its forces and [words indistinct].

The world has breathed a sigh of relief. Belgrade, (?Moscow), and Pale cannot stop the global process of democratization that has overtaken (?East) Europe after the fall of the Berlin wall. Aware of the danger, Western democracies have for the first time energetically and fully opposed the [word indistinct] crime that threatened to flow over the Bosnian borders.

The West has regained its soul, and that is the most important thing. Europe had enough with the Munich of 1938. Now it is our turn. Bosnia must get serious, more disciplined, and organized, so every Bosnian antifascist (?can find) his places in the defense of his country, so that the burden of the war and [word indistinct] could be divided more equally and [words indistinct]. The war with such monsters cannot be waged at the negotiating table. Fascism must be [words indistinct). We have to (?get collected), see, and realize that we have no other choice but to take arms. [word indistinct] threatened with biological attrition. This is the Chetnik war target.

Armed resistance to fascism is our holy duty. One should finally get serious. We are in a war that will last a very, very long time. That should be told to the citizens of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That must be endured. That must be [words indistinct] in the name of [word indistinct], said Edhem Bicakcic, acting member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

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General Staff 'Satisfied' With NATO Action

AU3008161095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Aug 95

[Report on news conference by Ferid Buljubasic, spokesman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Staff, by Sanada Cumurovic in Sarajevo on 30 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Forces comprising approximately two air force wings (?took part) in a NATO Air Force action that started at 0205 [0005 GMT] this morning and lasted until 0630 and was resumed at 1100. They attacked despite the extremely complex meteorological situation, Ferid Buljubasic said, explaining that the manner of attacks and the choice of targets were classical.

[Buljubasic] The first attacks were carried out against a radar air surveillance and guidance system on Mt. Jahorina. Then there were attacks on [words indistinct] and on the positions of the rocket batteries in the area around Pale, and a little later around Gorazde, Mostar, [word indistinct]. Afterward there were attacks on prominent command posts, the communications that lead to these command posts, and finally, attacks on strategic artillery positions and warehouses with ammunition and other lethal hardware. The Chetnik artillery positions in Poljine and the installations in Vogosca were also attacked. Then, the Chetnik artillery and command posts in Lukavica and its surroundings were attacked. The latest attacks, carried out at 1105, comprised attacks on Gavrica Brdo and, at 1110, in the area of water spring (?Number 4) on the slopes of (?Trebevic).

[Cumurovic] The NATO Air Force used guided missiles in these attacks. The exact results of the actions are not known yet, however, it is already known that the effects are great.

[Buljubasic] It is known for sure, this was also [word indistinct] from our defense lines, that an ammunition dump was destroyed in Vogosca and that the explosions there lasted long after the attacks ended. It is equally definite that sizable warehouses for the storage of ammunition and other explosive devices were destroyed in Lukavica.

[Cumurovic] To the NATO Air Force attacks, one must add the activities of the Rapid Reaction Force, which fired 700 howitzer shells to halt the activity of the Chetnik artillery in Poljine and Trebevic, which started attacking the town this morning. According to Buljubasic, it would be good if the NATO Air Force continued to act against the Serbian positions over the next few days to eliminate arms and also achieve a psychological effect. As regards the Chetniks, he cautioned:

[Buljubasic] The possibility of revenge is realistic. Definitely not all artillery arms were destroyed, there is still plenty of artillery around Sarajevo and the possibility of retaliation either against the UN troops or the town of Sarajevo is feasible.

[Cumurovic] Apart from Sarajevo, this morning, NATO's Air Force also attacked the Serbian aggressor's antiaircraft defense positions around Gorazde, Mostar, and Tuzla.

Judging by the effects, as Ferid Buljubasic, spokesman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Staff said, we can be satisfied with the realization of the NATO air force action.

Gen Divjak: Strikes Will Force Serbs to Table

AU3008162895 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 30 Aug 95

[Statement by General Jovan Divjak, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Staff, to Aleksandar Mlac; place and date not given; Divjak speaks in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed translation into Slovene—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] This use of NATO air force and the Rapid Reaction Force artillery from Mt. Igman is the first, however, for Karadzic a serious warning that he must opt for the negotiations that would bring peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The positions that they attacked in the vicinity of Sarajevo, namely the Serbian military positions in Vogosca, Lukavica, Trebevic, and Jahorina, and the positions of their antiaircraft defense, that is, the rocket systems in this area, were evidently destroyed in the NATO action.

The NATO action continues. It is clear that they are now destroying the Serbian artillery and tank positions from the air. The explosions that one could hear around Sarajevo also testify that the ammunition dumps of the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor were targeted, too. These are the warehouses that were left to the aggressor by the former Yugoslav People's Army. They contained enormous quantities of ammunition, so they did not need to bring any from elsewhere.

This action secures only partially that the Serbian forces will no longer be able to attack the civilian targets in Sarajevo, but brings no significant changes on the defense lines around the town, that is, at the points of contact between our forces and the aggressor's army.

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For logical reasons, NATO did not attack these points, where the aggressor's Serbian Army has approximately 50 tanks and more than 200 artillery pieces and heavy weapons exceeding 82-mm caliber even at this very moment. The neutralization of the aggressor is only possible at a distance of 2 to 3 km from these points of contact because any other action could also endanger the positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

NATO and the allies must be acclaimed for what they are doing, which was definitely influenced by the talks of President Izetbegovic with French President Chirac. As the final result of this action, we expect that the Serbs will be forced to sit at the negotiating table.

NATO Southern Command: Air Strikes 'a Success'

AU3008054495 Paris AFP in English 0528 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Naples, Italy, Aug 30 (AFP)—A massive attack by NATO warplanes on Bosnian Serb targets round Sarajevo early Wednesday [30 August] was a success and all the aircraft had returned to their bases, NATO Southern Command said here.

A statement said that the air attack, in two waves, was over but that the operation, which also involves artillery of the UN Rapid Reaction Force, was still going on.

Serb Radio: Damage 'Immense'

AU3008080495 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 30 Aug 95

[Report by correspondent Zorica Rulj]

[FBIS Translated Text] This morning, about 0200 hours, NATO jets targeted serb millitary positons east and south of Sarajevo. As many as 60 NATO combat aircraft took part in this morning's first air strikes against Serb military as well as civilian targets. Apart from the NATO air strikes, the Rapid Reaction Forces from Mt. Igman participated in the bombing of Serb positions, using artillery. The decision to carry out air strikes against Serb targets was made by U.S. Admiral Leighton Smith, NATO commander for southernm Europe, and French General Bernard Janvier, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for former Yugoslavia. NATO air strikes began after UN military commanders established that the artillery attack on Muslim Sarajevo on Monday, 28 August, originated from Serb positions. The air strikes intensified this morning at about 0400 hours when powerful detonations were felt east of Pale.

There have so far been no reports about casualites. The population remains in shelters and material damage is believed to be immense. Our reporters are on the ground and we expect more precise information in our upcoming newscasts.

1st Corps on Raid Damage

AU3008084795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0746 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [word indistinct] massacre against Sarajevo citizens, at about 0200 [0000 GMT] this morning, NATO aircraft carried out attacks on selected aggressor's military targets around Sarajevo. NATO aircraft several times raided the following aggressor positions: the PRETIS Factory in Vogosca, from which several strong explosions were heard after the raid; the aggressor's radar systems at the Jahorina Mountain; the aggressor's targets in the regions of Kalinovik, Golo Brdo and (Sijevo).

According to the incomplete data that the 1st Corps Command possesses, certain losses (?in military hardware) have been inflicted on the aggressor. NATO aircraft raided the aggressor's positions between 0200 to 0600 this morning, after which the UNPROFOR's Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] began with artillery operations on the aggressor's positions in the region of Trebevic, Lukavica, (Donji Kotorak), Vojkovici, Golo Brdo, and (Hajrici). The most intensive RRF operations have been carried out on aggressor targets in Lukavica.

The aggressor responded to these NATO attacks and, on several occasions, opened fire at UNPROFOR forces stationed at [names indistinct]. The aggressor's artillery launched several shells on Sarajevo [words indistinct] and opened infantry and flak fire on Sarajevo roads and crossroads.

We caution Sarajevo citizens that due to the possible Chetnik retaliation against civilian targets in Sarajevo, they should conform to all civilian defense measures to the maximum, the Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps reports.

Radar Systems, Artillery Hit

LD3008023895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0220 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina radio has learned from our republic's army headquarters that shortly after 0200, the NATO Air Force used its firepower to destroy the aggressor forces' radar systems as well as the Karadzic forces' artillery positioned around Sarajevo.

This information has been obtained through constant contact with the UN Protection Force command in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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Ammunition Dumps in Lukavica Hit

LD3008051895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] NATO planes have been continuously pounding aggressor radar systems and firing positions around Sarajevo since 0005 GMT. [passage omitted]

The ammunition dumps in Lukavica [south Sarajevo suburb, east of Butmir Airport] were hit some 20 minutes ago. [passage omitted]

Civilian Casualties Reported

LD3008105695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1021 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 30 Aug (SRNA)—Nedeljko Prstojevic, president of the Ilidza war presidency, reports NATO strikes resulted in civilian casualties in this Serb municipality of western Sarajevo.

"Despite this, we are managing to function and maintain an almost normal situation. Almost all building windows are shattered and material damage is massive," Prstojevic said in a statement to Radio Ilidza.

He added that Serb defense lines in the western part of Serb Sarajevo are stable and that "this is how they will remain."

5 UN Observers Killed

AU3008110795 Banja Luka Srpski Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Just in: Tonight's NATO air strikes on Serb Sarajevo killed five EU observers that were in the area. The dead observers have not been identified except for one (?Zenon Lewis Quinton).

Sarajevo, Mostar Demand RRF Sign Accord

LD2908163595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slobodan Bozic, the head of the Herzeg-Bosnia government office for relations with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], and Hasan Muratovic, the Sarajevo government's minister responsible for cooperation with UNPROFOR, met in Mostar today to discuss their attitude to the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF]. Here is a report by Ivan Kristic:

[Kristic] Croat and Bosniak Muslim officials, who on behalf of the government of Herzeg-Bosnia and the government in Sarajevo are cooperating with the UN peace forces, today again came to the conclusion that both Croat and Bosniak Muslim sides would adhere to their earlier attitude to the deployment of the so-called Rapid Reaction Force. In other words, the authorities of both the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina call on the RRF command to sign an agreement defining their mandate, the duration of their stay in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the location where the forces will be deployed, the manner of operation and, especially, their commitment not to hinder liberation operations by the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

It was agreed at the meeting in Mostar that unless the agreement, the details of which were previously harmonized by the federal partners and offered for signing to the UNPROFOR commander General Janvier, is signed, no permission will be given for the RRF to enter and move freely on the territory of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the meeting in Mostar concluded.

Government Plans Aid for 5,000 Expellees

AU2908191195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At its session today, the Government of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina heard the information that some 4,000-5,000 refugees expelled from their homes in Banja Luka are on the way to Travnik. The Government has discussed measures and activities concerning the acceptance and housing of the refugees. [passage omitted]

Expelled Muslims Reach Tesanj

AU2908190095 Paris AFP in English 1837 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 29 (AFP)—A group of 185 Moslems expelled from Serb-held northern Bosnia arrived in the central Bosnian town of Tesanj on Tuesday [29 August], the official Bosnia-Herzegovina television reported. Most are from the north central Bosnian town of Teslic, according to Samir Sefer of the Bosnian Army 7th Corps, who is helping accept the Moslems.

An estimated 355,000 Moslems lived in the region in 1991, the year before war broke out here, but have been trickling out for more than two years. The group which arrived in Bosnian-held territory Tuesday was mainly made up of women, children, and the elderly.

"The Bosnian Serb Commission (arranging the expulsions) told us today to expect another 100 to 200 refugees in Turbe (central Bosnia) on Saturday," said Sefer.

Serbs in the Banja Luka region expelled more than 11,000 Croats and a few Moslems in the latest wave

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of organized ethnic cleansing which began August 14, packing them onto buses and deporting them to Croatia.

Karadzic Defiant Following NATO Air Attacks

LD3008151795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Zvornik, 30 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, said in Zvornik today that the NATO aggression shows that the international community is still not in favor of peace in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. "Our people are ready to sustain everything, our fighters are firmly holding all lines, we shall nevertheless win," Karadzic said, adding: "However, the world will have to react and oppose this, because both China and Russia may expect something similar because a precedent of meddling in a civil war is being made in the case of a small nation."

The Serb Republic president said that the Serb Army will not "allow our enemy to exploit these air strikes. We shall defend ourselves with all means at our disposal and we will shoot down aggressor aircraft which come within our range. However, what is most important is that this will strengthen our people's will for our own state," Karadzic said.

He said that "the West has made mistaken calculations about the Serbs. We cannot be bribed with money and we cannot be frightened by bombs. The West ought to assume an impartial position, not encourage the Muslims to continue the war," Karadzic said.

Asked how NATO aggression would impact on the upcoming peace process, President Karadzic said that "bombs will not soften up the Serbs. The West does not know the Serbs because it is in the character of the Serb people to emerge stronger from all attacks and blackmail," Karadzic said.

He added that the Serbs are remaining in their positions, "and that all efforts should be invested to bring the war to an end and achieve a just political and territorial solution. We are ready to participate in negotiations on our own and with a Yugoslav delegation, but I reckon that, if this assistance to the Muslim side continues, it will not be in favor of peace, and the Muslims will continue its stage-managing of incidents like the one in Sarajevo, in an attempt to destroy the chances for peace," Karadzic concluded.

RS's Buha Condemns NATO Air Strikes

LD3008110795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1021 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 30 Aug (SRNA)—Aleksa Buha, minister of foreign affairs of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, today fiercely condemned the aggression by NATO planes on the [Bosnian] Serb Republic. Buha maintains the NATO strikes overstep all mandates and resolutions.

"NATO has overstepped the boundaries of its participation in the conflict," Buha stressed during a brief phone call to Belgrade.

He added that "the alleged Serb shelling of Sarajevo was not a legitimate reason for this foolish act by the international community."

"The international community refused to form a mixed commission to investigate who launched the massacre in Sarajevo," Buha recalled.

He said under these dubious circumstances, the commander of the Russian battalion within UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces] stationed in Sarajevo had also unsuccessfully requested forming a mixed commission.

Buha was unable to comment on the extent of the destruction in Pale, but said he would be able furnish more precise information during his next phone call.

RS Minister Protests Bombing of Civilian Targets

LD3008164895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1624 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Aug 30 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Minister for Health, Labour and Social Policy Dragan Kalinic addressed a strong protest to the head of the office of the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] in Pale Sandro Barana because of NATO and Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] strikes on civilian targets and a hospital in the Serb part of Sarajevo.

Kalinic asked Barana to inform the ICRC headquarters in Geneva about the UN Protection Force violation of humanitarian law and to publicly condemn this henious act.

Since early morning Wednesday NATO planes, together with the Rapid Reaction Force, have carried out three strikes on Bosnian Serb targets which included civilian facilities, Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA reported.

NATO planes and the RRF, which is stationed on Mt. Igman, fired over 2,000 powerful projectiles of over 120 mm until 08:00 local time [0600 GMT] Wednesday.

Tilava, Lukavica, and Miljevici came under the strongest fire where solely civilian targets were hit, the faculties of electrotechnics, agronomy, and philosophy and several industrial facilities, SRNA said.

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Bosnian Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha said Wednesday that in today's aggression on the Serbs NATO had overstepped its powers and violated all international resolutions.

The reason given for this attack, the alleged Serb bombing of a market place in the Muslim part of Sarajevo, is not the real reason for such a senseless act by the international community, Buha said.

He expressed indignation because the international community had refused to form a mixed commission to investigate the massacre of civilians near the Sarajevo Markale market where 37 people were killed and a hundred injured in a mortar attack Monday [28 August].

Karadzic, Krajisnik Comment on Sarajevo 'Massacre'

AU2908162895 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 95

[Report by Zoran Zuza, including recorded statements by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Serb Republic Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik "on Jahorina" on 28 August]

[FBIS Translated Text] The fourth extraordinary session of the assembly of the Serb Republic started a little after 1700 [1500 GMT], and is being held behind closed doors. We have Zoran Zuza's report.

[Zuza] The Contact Group plan was derogated by the referendum in the Serb Republic, while the U.S. initiative, as we know, acknowledges the minimum Serb interests, and I hope that our Assembly will welcome that offer, said the president of the Serb Republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, on Jahorina today, shortly before the fourth extraordinary session of the Assembly of the Serb Republic started. On the other hand, added the president of the Serb Republic, whenever we were close to negotiations on a peaceful resolution yielding results, the Muslims would massacre their own civilians in order to undermine the peace process and the conference, and in order for the international community to blame the Serbs for it. NATO can do what they want, but they have no reason to take any action against the Serbs, said President Karadzic, commenting on the latest Muslim crime in the streets of the Muslim and Serb part of Sarajevo, and added:

[Begin recording] We have witnessed the Muslim government massacring their own Muslim people. I hope that the international community and the international media will no longer buy that kind of story, and we are demanding that an international investigation committee be formed that will include one of our experts, so that it can be established whose responsibility it was.

We always respected other religious communities' religious holidays, and they know that. However, both in World War II and now, we were most heavily attacked on our Orthodox Christian holidays, both by Ustashas and Muslims. This represents a continuity of criminal behavior, and we are not surprised by it. [end recording]

[Zuza] Talking about the reasons why the extraordinary Assembly session was convened and the topics to be discussed behind closed doors, Assembly Chairman Krajisnik said:

[Begin recording] [Krajisnik] Firstly, in this political situation there are various initiatives for resolving the peace process and the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. One such initiative is that presented by the team headed by Mr. Carl Bildt. We held a meeting with Mr. Bildt, and we will inform the Assembly representatives of all the details of this meeting and our impressions.

Secondly, as far as the military situation is concerned, we must decide upon certain positions because there is an open threat of the regular army of Croatia, as well as the state of Croatia and the Muslims, continuing the aggression against the Serb Republic and the Serb people in general.

[Zuza] Mr. Chairman, could you comment on the latest Muslim terrorist act in the streets of Sarajevo?

[Krajisnik] I will connect this to an action we were going to organize, which is that, at the initiative of Mr. Bildt, we had agreed to organize a meeting with the representatives of the Muslim side at Sarajevo airport, since the best way to overcome all the problems is to establish a direct contact between the warring sides, which means our side and the Muslim side. This morning, I was supposed to go to Sarajevo airport, and when I was half way there I was informed that the meeting was canceled because this incident had occurred.

We are having the incident investigated, but we can categorically claim that the Serb Army has nothing to do with it. I personally condemn this act; it means no good for Serbs, Muslims, or Croats, and it is not good for the continuation of the peace process either. Whoever did that, and we claim that the Serbs did not, has some interest in the peace process stopping and the war continuing. This is fatal for the peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

[Zuza] What was indeed encouraging was chairman Krajisnik saying that the recent Serb disunions have been completely overcome, and it is therefore expected that the members of the Assembly of the Serb Republic will agree as far as the peace initiatives for the resolution

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to the conflict in former Bosnia and the defense of the borders of the Serb Republic are concerned.

Serb Army Claims NATO-Muslim Collaboration

LD2908160795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] headquarters in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina has not accepted the formation of a mixed commission composed of UNPROFOR representatives and representatives of the Serb and Muslim sides in order to establish the real truth about the [Sarajevo market] incident, the Information Service of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Army Main Headquarters announced today.

Such a commission was proposed by General Ratko Mladic, commander in chief of the Serb Republic Army, to General Rupert Smith, UNPROFOR commander for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, the statement says, before any investigation was carried out, individual representatives of UNPROFOR and in the media who are favorably predisposed toward the Muslims accused the Serbs of causing the incident which was stage-managed by the Muslims.

The statement claims that "three hours after the incident NATO Rapid Reaction Forces, in collaboration with Muslim formations, carried out an act of revenge in the Igman and Hrasnica region against Serb defensive positions and the civilian settlements of Ilidza, Blazuj, and Vrelo Bosna."

The consequences of this attack yesterday were, the Serb Republic Army Headquarters says, one killed and 47 wounded near the church in Blazuj, where the Orthodox holiday of Assumption Day was being marked.

The Serb Republic Army Headquarters maintains that today, too, actions against civilian facilities in Serb Sarajevo have been continued.

"Analyzing the course of the actions and the consequences of the revenge attacks, members of the Serb Republic Army gathered firm proof of the collaboration of NATO Rapid Reaction Forces and Muslim units against the Serb side," the statement stresses.

Motives of 'Muslim Terrorists' in Sarajevo Massacre

LD2808165995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 28 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 28 Aug (SRNA)—Muslim terrorists committed a crime in the center of Sarajevo today in which, international news agencies and TV stations have reported, 34 people were killed and a number of others wounded.

As was the case with stage-managed massacres in Vase Miskina Street in May 1992 and Markale marketplace in February 1994, which produced the desired results, today's gory street show staged by Izetbegovic's terrorists in the center of Sarajevo is aimed, as the war is coming to an end, just before a peace treaty is signed, at discrediting the [Bosnian] Serb Republic in the media and in law to the extent that the international public accepts as justified all the attempts to exclude the Serb Republic leadership from the negotiating process and the final conference.

It is crystal clear today that the criminal act perpetrated by Izetbegovic's terrorists in Vase Miskina Street was used by the anti-Serb part of the international community, primarily the Washington-Bonn axis, as a direct alibi and pretext for the imposition of economic sanctions against Serbia and, as it became evident later, for well-timed and thorough blackmail which has had a continuous and fatal influence on the resolution of the crisis and on the Serb cause on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

When the Washington-Bonn axis needed a concrete reason to legalize and justify through the United Nations the participation of the NATO Air Force in the civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and thus spread NATO's influence to the Balkans, Izetbegovic's terrorists committed a crime at Sarajevo Markale market, which, through a synchronized media and political campaign, also had the desired outcome.

Today's crime, the third committed by Izetbegovic's terrorists, who have been trained by Hizballah instructors and other terrorist organizations throughout the war, was staged at a time when the United States put forward a modified Contact Group plan, which could, through additional consultations, lead to a just peace. The incident was once more staged in Sarajevo, because it is the most sensitive media spot and the most profitable area when it comes to the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The West knows that Islam has endorsed terrorism as one of the most efficient ways to fight for Shari'ah-observing states in North Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, and it is fighting this evil now in France. But the conduct of Western governments is beyond belief when it comes to terrorist actions by the Islamic fundamentalists of Alija Izetbegovic, especially bearing in mind that he is trying to establish a Pakistan-style Shari'ah-state in Europe, as he put it himself in "The Islamic Declaration."

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The West is therefore not only refusing to restrain Izetbegovic, but certain circles are even encouraging his terrorism, because of their direct or indirect long- or short-term interests.

Indicative in this respect was the mild, almost routine reaction to the killing of the U.S. representative in the Contact Group, Robert Frasure, whose vehicle was blown up by Muslim mines. As it is a fact that the American envoy carried in his briefcase the almost completed peace plan and was on the verge of striking a peace deal, and as the Izetbegovic government's reaction to his arrangement is common knowledge, then it is not hard to figure out who would benefit from Frasure's death.

It should be noted that Izetbegovic described the U.S. plan as a nonbinding initiative, while his military commander Rasim Delic said in Jablanica yesterday that the Americans were offering "something that has neither head nor tail" and announced that the Muslims will carry on fighting regardless of international peace initiatives.

Also significant was the behavior today of Izetbegovic's Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, who synchronized his news conference with the terrorist action in downtown Sarajevo and hurried to tell the international community that the Muslims will suspend the negotiations, asking "What is NATO waiting for."

'Ballistics Expert' Says Muslims Fired Shell

LD2908201495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1906 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 Aug (SRNA)—A retired army officer of the former Yugoslav People's Army, who wished to remain anonymous, told SRNA today that the shell which killed 37 people in the Sarajevo market yesterday was fired from the Muslim positions on Vasin Han.

"It is quite certain that the shell was fired from the Muslim positions, coordinate 929, above Vasin Han, 3 km from the scene of the bombing," he said, adding that the two spires on the nearby Catholic church were most likely used as perfect orientation points.

"Under such conditions, and with the available grid, the Muslim gunner could have easily calculated the 3 km projectile flight," the officer, an eminent ballistics expert, said.

Accusations Against Serbs Seen as 'Prejudiced'

LD2908171295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1652 GMT 29 Aug 95

[Report by Milan Sokolovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 29 (TANJUG)—Prejudiced accusations on Monday that Serbs from Bosnia are guilty of the Sarajevo massacre which killed 37 and injured nearly 90 people were officially certified by UNPROFOR on Tuesday, but without any concrete proof needed to blame the Serbs again.

In addition to remarkable efficiency in "investigation," also notable were the distinct shades in statements made by United Nations representatives.

Thus Spokesman Aleksandr Ivanko stated in Sarajevo on Tuesday that UN Bosnia Commander British General Rupert Smith, having noted investigation results, had ascertained that the attack was undoubtedly carried out from Bosnian Serb positions.

UN peace force representative Major Guy Vinet, however, asserted that the collected suppositions clearly indicated that the shells had been fired from Serb positions.

Vinet's statement evidently deals with deductions based on indications, which is at least frivolous if not tendentious too.

Concerned here are the accusations capable of undermining the latest peace initiatives that at long last point to an exit from the war tunnel.

On the Sarajevo battlefront, Muslim and Serb positions are so close to one another that it is virtually impossible to find out which one had fired the shell that caused Monday's massacre.

Then, one must not disregard a statement in which Muslim Commander General Rasim Delic said on Monday that the only option for the Muslims is war.

Serbs in Bosnia, however, have already pledged they will opt for a political settlement of the crisis in this former Yugoslav republic, as was officially confirmed early on Tuesday by the Assembly of the Bosnian Serb Republic at Pale.

The question arises as to who would benefit from the massacre, right ahead of major talks in Paris on Tuesday generally believed to open the paths to peace in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The answer is: certainly not the Serbs.

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What also seriously accuses the Muslim side is the coincidence of atrocious sabotage acts taking place right ahead of important peace turnabouts.

The mid-1993 massacre on the Vasa Miskin Street even served as the pretext to impose sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, although the subsequent heavy suspicion fell on the Muslims, especially because of the presence of television cameras at the massacre.

Serbs from Bosnia were "unequivocally" condemned also for the innocent victims of the early-1994 bombardment of the Markale market place, altough the involvement of Muslims in the sly killing of other Muslims has been recently confirmed also by former French president Mitterrand when he told a government meeting that he learned about this involvement from UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali in person.

The Bosnian Serb Army leaders and the most responsible political quarters on Monday promptly denied every involvement in the latest Sarajevo massacre. But the denial remained without a broader echo, while at about the same time Major Vinet answered a newsman's question as to who had fired the shell by saying: "Bosnian Serbs, of course."

On Monday evening, a U.S. State Department representative also accused the Serbs in Bosnia still before "an investigation" was completed. At the same time, General Mladic proposed a joint inquiry be set up, but his proposal, which would have warranted impartial approach, has been dropped.

One may rightly wonder why bombs explode in Sarajevo for which Serbs are blamed. And why does this invariably happen ahead of crucial turnabouts towards political settlement and negotiations rather than war.

Also, personnel carriers, with advocates of political solutions and equal treatment of all sides to the war in the territory of former Yugoslavia, in some mysterious way slip off the roads down into ravines.

Too many events like these resemble each other so closely that can hardly be treated as mere coincidence.

Immediate executors of such heinous crimes do not perhaps bear the biggest responsibility, but their patrons do. Their patrons obviously are too powerful and, in real fact, they represent the biggest threat to peace and the democratic processes that are being discussed all over the world all the time.

Pale Decision on 'Forthcoming Talks' Viewed

AU2908174695 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 95

[Report by Marica Lalovic from Pale]

[FBIS Translated Text] Everybody was genuinely pleased and encouraged by a joint and unanimous decision to support the U.S. peace plan for the resolution of the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. A joint conclusion and stance that the Serb Republic and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] will appear in the forthcoming talks with a joint, unanimous platform (?was seen as a good omen) in the interest of the Serbian people living on all these territories.

They also agreed to form a delegation of the Serb Republic. For the time being, we do not have information as to who the members of this delegation are. However, judging by what we have learned unofficially, the delegation will consist of the president of the Republic, Radovan Karadzic, the foreign minister [Aleksa Buha], the General Staff commander [Ratko Mladic], and Radomir Lukic, international law expert law who is currently deputy foreign minister and was a member of the Serb Republic negotiating team in all earlier talks.

Let me just say that the deputies were unanimous in their position referring to the joint appearance and all other conclusions, however, what they demanded was some details of the maps and that was the reason why the debate lasted a little longer. Of course, nobody could present these details because they will only become the subject of discussion now, and that was why the debate lasted slightly longer than anticipated.

Explosion at Premises of Propeace Serb Party

LD2908163895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—The municipal committee of the Socialist Party of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [SPSR] announced today that an unidentified person or persons planted an explosive device outside its premises in Bijeljina last night. There were no casualties but the damage is considerable and amounts to about 20,000 dinars, the SPSR says in its statement.

"Individual members of the SPSR municipal committee have received anonymous threats before but tended to ignore them since their activities have never been in contrast with the interests of the Serb people," the SPSR says in its statement. It goes on to add that the party will continue to support the policy of peace and a peaceful solution to the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina but not to the detriment of the Serb people.

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Bosnian Serbs Beat Back Croat, Muslim Attacks

LD2908235795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2353 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Aug 29 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Army sources said that Bosnian Croats and Muslims and the army of neighbouring Croatia had been attacking Bosnian Serb positions and localities virtually throughout Bosnia on Tuesday, but that all attacks had been stopped.

The Bosnian Serb Army command said late on Tuesday that artillery and sniper fire had been directed against Sarajevo's Serb localities of Grbavica, the Jewish cemetery, and Vrace, and sporadically also against the Serb suburbs of Hadzici and Rajlovac.

The Serb side was forced to respond to the increasingly frequent and strong attacks, in order to put a stop to enemy fire, the statement said.

Bosnian Serb forces reported beating back strong Muslim attacks also on the Teslic front in the north, and at Vlasic and Kupres in central Bosnia.

According to Bosnian Serb Army sources, further powerful offensive actions are to be expected in these areas, because both Muslims and Croats are intensively regrouping and bringing in fresh troops and materiel.

Muslims were attacking also on Mt. Trebava, northeast of Doboj, and sporadically on the slopes of Mt. Ozren down to the town of Vozuca in the north, with the Bosnian Serb Army adequately responding to put an end to all artillery and infantry assaults, the sources said.

Croatian and Muslim forces intensified offensive operations also in Herzegovina, with the brunt of the attacks directed against Serb civilian facilities between Trebinje and Dubrovnik in eastern Herzegovina, the statement said.

From Bihac which, as a UN-designated "safe area" should have been demilitarised long ago, Muslims launched fresh attacks on Grabez and Grmusa to the west, but were forced to return to their original positions after taking heavy casualties.

Forces of Croatia, which have been operating in Bosnian Serb territory for months, shelled Serb civilian targets from artillery weapons again on Tuesday, Bosnian Serb sources said.

The attacks were particularly strong against Drvar, where they had first tried without success to break through Serb defences at Grahovo and Glamoc in the west.

Croatian Artillery Attacks in Trebinje Reported

LD3008113995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bileca, 30 Aug (Tanjug)—The HQ of the Serb forces announced in Bileca today that the artillery attacks by the regular Croatian Army on Serb positions and villages in the Trebinje and Stolac areas, which began yesterday afternoon, did not stop until late last night. Shelling of several areas resumed this morning.

The fiercest attacks were on Serb villages and Herzegovina Corps positions between Stolac and Ljubinje, where Croatian forces used multiple-rocket launchers and heavy howitzers. In one hour yesterday afternoon, the Croats fired more than 200 of the most destructive shells.

Serb villages in the Popovo Polje region, west of Trebinje, were also hit by Croatian multiple-rocket launchers yesterday afternoon. It is claimed that significant material damage was caused to housing and other facilities, but that there were no civilian casualties. [passage omitted]

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Tudjman Accepts Kuchma Offer To Broker Talks

LD2908143095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has received Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Volodymyr Khandohiy. Khandohiy handed President Tudjman a letter offering Ukraine's good offices for a meeting between presidents of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia in order to resolve the regional crisis in the best possible way.

After expressing thanks for the letter, President Tudjman laid emphasis on the need to strengthen relations between the two countries.

Khandohiy was accompanied by Anatoliy Shostak, the Ukrainian ambassador to the Republic of Croatia. The talks were also attended on the Croatian side by Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader, and head of the president's office, Gordan Radin.

Following the meeting the Ukrainian deputy foreign minister made a brief press statement.

[Begin Khandohiy recording in English, with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I came to Zagreb with a personal letter from President Kuchma of Ukraine to President Dr. Tudjman of Croatia. The essence of the message is an invitation to visit Kiev or any other part of Ukraine, together with the presidents of Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, for talks with no precisely set agenda on problems existing in former Yugoslavia. President Tudjman's reaction concerning this proposal is positive.

In the course of the meeting we also examined Croatian-Ukrainian relations, and concluded that there is much potential for their improvement. [end recording]

Susak, FRG's Ruehe Discuss Ties, Shelling

LD2908141895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Gojko Susak, the defense minister of the Republic of Croatia, and his German counterpart, Volker Ruehe, met at Split airport today. They discussed the situation in Croatia and the chances for finding a solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Josko Krzin reports:

[Krzin] Following their talks, ministers Susak and Ruehe made brief statements. Minister Susak thanked his German colleague for having time to talk about the situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina during his first visit to Croatia. They also discussed other topics, minister Susak said.

[Begin Susak recording] We talked also about cooperation between Croatia and Germany. I believe we agreed on these ways and how to establish these relations. [sentence as heard] Minister Volker Ruehe voiced concern about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Croatia, in cooperation with the international community, will do everything possible to reach a peaceful solution that will satisfy the Federation [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] and other factors in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the European and world communities. [end recording]

[Krzin] The German minister expressed satisfaction with his visit to Croatia, where he visited German troops at the Rapid Reaction Force hospital, and with his talks with Minister Susak. He also praised Croatia's support for the Rapid Reaction Force. He said the following about the development of bilateral relations:

[Begin Ruehe recording, in German, with superimposed Serbo-Croat translation] We talked about cooperation between Croatia and Germany, which should be developed as quickly as possible. The foundation for this is the establishment of a regional peace. Germany will do everything possibvle so this is achieved. The next few weeks will be of exceptional importance. [end recording]

[Krzin] In a comment on the Serb shelling of the Sarajevo market, he said that there must be a response to the attack if the international community is to retain its credibility in the peace process.

Following the talks, Ruehe visited the Rapid Reaction Force hospital in Seget, near Trogir.

Evidence Emerging of Crimes Against Krajina Serbs

LD3008122395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1106 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 30 (TANJUG)—The Serb Krajina nongovernment documentation and information centre Veritas for collecting information and evidence of Croatian crimes claims that about 15,000 Serbs have remained in Serb Krajina after Croatia's latest brutal aggression against the region.

Croatia launched an aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina in early August. About 250,000 Serbs have fled the region before the onslaught of Croatian troops who killed civilians and looted and torched Serb houses.

About 800,000 Serbs have lived in Croatia before its war of secession from the former Yugoslav Federation. Since 1991, most Serbs have fled Croatian-controlled territories and found refuge in the Republic of Serb

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Krajina, the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Veritas president, attorney Savo Strbac, has told TANJUG that he has a great deal of information about Serb Krajina soldiers detained in Croatian prisons, but said these soldiers have not been registered by international organizations. Strbac said there were several instances where elderly people who could not escape from the Ustasha aggression had been killed.

He said one of the characteristic cases was the one that was committeed in front of international representatives in the village of Kakanj between the towns of Knin and Benkovac where two old men were murdered and their bodies were later thrown into a house ablaze. Strbac said that another brutal killing took place in the village of Djevrske where two Serb men, Dusan Saric, 38, and Radin Borak, 42, had been hung to a lamp post in the center of the village. He said the two men had been previously forced by Croatian troops to roast lamb for them.

He also said that 60-year-old Gojko Lezaic had been brutally killed in the hamlet of Gosic near Djevrsak.

Illustrating the scope of the ethnic cleansing in Serb Krajina, Strbac said that only six of the total of 130 people living in 35 households had remained in the village of Bobodol between the towns of Knin and Drnis and two of them had later been killed.

Strbac said that according to a UN civilian police report, 17 people had been executed by a firing squad outside the Vrginmost municipality building. He said this had most probably prompted Croatian troops to kill a British reporter who filmed it all.

According to EU observer team reports, 228 graves had been registered on five locations in the immediate vicinity of Knin. The reports said the graves contained 102 civilians and 126 soldiers, but only 57 of them had been identified.

"In addition to about 700 people in the UN force barracks in Knin, 238 Serbs are waiting around the barracks to join the (refugee) convoy and go to Yugoslavia," Strbac said. He also said that another 52 people had remained in one of Knin's elementary schools and 44 of them said they wanted to leave.

EU Conveys 'Concern' to Granic

AU2908162495 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Everything About Humanitarian Aspects of 'Storm' Soon"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia, received on Monday [29 August] at their request the representatives of the EU: Jean-Jacques Gaillard, French ambassador to Zagreb, and Camil Villarin Marza and Benedetto Latteri, Italian and Spanish first secretaries respectively. The talks were also attended by F. Paolini, representatives of the European Commission in the European Monitoring Mission, a statement from the Croatian Foreign Ministry said.

The representatives of the "European troika" conveyed to Granic the concern of the European Union over the human rights situation in the liberated areas of the Republic of Croatia. Granic stressed that these were individual cases which first of all reflected the frustrations of the people whose property had been completely destroyed and whose villages had been wiped away. He expressed the belief that reasons for concern over the human rights situation would disappear as soon as civilian authorities were stabilized in these areas. Granic said that the government would shortly publish data on all humanitarian details of "Operation Storm," including those on the mentioned incidents.

Granic stressed that the return of the Serbs who had left the liberated areas would inevitably depend on finding a final peace solution for the crisis in the region and on the normalization of relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro). In present circumstances, individual requests for the return would be accepted in accordance with Croatian laws.

The "European troika" representatives were interested in the implementation of the Constitution and the Constitutional Law in the liberated areas, especially with regard to the protection of human rights. Granic said that the Republic of Croatia remained firmly determined to implement the policy of full respect for human and minorities' rights, and that in this respect it remained on the line of its democratic and European orientation. Regarding the implementation of the Constitutional Law, he explained that the factual situation on the ground, especially in Knin and Glina, was at present impeding the establishment of administrative authorities. He informed the representatives of the "European troika" that the possibility of delaying the implementation of the Constitutional Law's provisions regarding the establishment of the Knin and Glina administrative districts is

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also being considered until the situation on the ground was stabilized. Granic reassured the "European troika" that the final solution would by no means affect constitutional guarantees and the protection of minorities' rights.

Minister Granic reiterated that the Republic of Croatia was ready for full cooperation with all international humanitarian, UN, EU, and other monitors who wanted to inspect the human rights and minorities' rights situation in the newly liberated areas.

UN Urges Protection of Serbs

LD2908162095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 29 (TANJUG)—The UN High Commissioner for Refugees of the Republic of Serb Krajina, Milan Trbulin, called on the UN Secretary General special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, to prevent by his authority "crimes against and the extermination of Serbs who stayed in the occupied part of the republic of Serb Krajina."

Trbulin said that the Croatian Army and police are terrorizing and killing Serbs who stayed behind. Thousands of Serbs held in camps are threatened by physical destruction, he said.

"Please do everything possible to save the lives of Serbs who stayed in Krajina, to prevent new crimes and punish the perpetrators, because what is going on now puts to shame everyone who feels like a man," the letter said.

After the aggression of the Croatian Army, launched on August 4, 250,000 inhabitants fled the Republic of Serb Krajina. Serb sources assess that only about 15,000 Serbs have stayed in the occupied territory.

The high commissioner for refugees of the Republic of Serb Krajina asked Akashi to use his influence so that all international humanitarian organizations, especially the UN high commissioner for refugees, can carry out their humanitarian mission in entirety and prevent the further victimization of the Serbian people.

In his call to Akashi, Trbulin pointed to statements made by the Croatian leadership, that the private property of expelled Serbs will be totally usurped.

"We consider that the world community cannot tolerate such a position, because under international law private property is inviolable, regardless of where the owner is staying," Trbulin said in his letter to Akashi.

Kostovic on Refugees, Casualties

LD2908151395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Speaking at a news conference in Zagreb today, Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Ivica Kostovic spoke about the humanitarian situation following "Operation Storm," and presented the first official figures on refugees, and civilian and military casualties. Jadranka Kosor reports:

[Kosor] Dr. Kostovic recalled that "Operation Storm" was an attempt to prevent the suffering of civilians. The entire Serb population was invited to stay in Croatia. Wherever it was possible, talks on surrender of arms and negotiated departure of civilians were conducted. Military and police forces were instructed to observe conventions. Regarding individual groups of Serbs who left Croatia, our government is responsible only for those evacuated from the area between Glina and Lipovac, Dr. Kostovic said.

[Kostovic] In the Glina-Lipovac area, 15,563 persons passed through Lipovac.

[Kosor] All others left under the orders of the Serb paramilitary, so statements by some ministers of the so-called Yugoslavia on disappearance of tens of thousands of Serb refugees, are vulgar. Speaking about the number of Serbs who stayed in the area of former Sectors North and South, Dr. Kostovic said:

[Kostovic] At present, 6,000 Serbs are left in the areas North and South. It is not known to the public that 3,255 infirm persons were housed in reception centers for displaced people.

[Kosor] Only 259 out of 3,255 people wanted to leave Croatia, which shows that when there is no pressure from the Serb paramilitary, the wish to leave is considerably less pronounced. Talking about the latest figures on civilian and military casualties resulting from "Operation Storm," Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Ivica Kostovic said:

[Kostovic] A total of 526 corpses, which have been forensically examined, were found during mopping-up operations.

[Kosor] Out of these 526 dead people, only 116 were civilians, 44 of whom have been identified. The list of their names has been handed to the International Committee of the Red Cross. In the course of "Operation Storm," 42 civilians were killed in Croatian towns because the Serbs targeted civilian facilities. The figure of 42 includes four children; there were no casualties among Serb children. In "Operation Storm," 211 Croatian soldiers and policemen were killed.

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Dr. Kostovic also presented horrific details on mass graves found in newly liberated areas: These are graves where Croats were buried since 1991.

[Kostovic] In Petrinja, 49 people were buried, according to witnesses' accounts; in Maja, near Glina, 150 people; and in Saborsko, 70 people were found in a mass grave.

[Kosor] After "Operation Storm," 907 able-bodied persons were held in reception centers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; 197 have been released; investigative proceedings against 704 are under way. All the reception centers are now closed, Dr. Ivica Kostovic said.

Serb Volunteers 'Terrorizing' Locals

AU2908234795 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Mirko Sajler: "The Serbs Have Also Had Enough of Everything"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If Americans used to have a Wild West, then Croatians have their "Wild East." This is how life in the occupied territories in Slavonia and Baranja can be described. The complete absence of law and acknowledgment of force and weapons only are its main characteristics.

The UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] is also helpless. Though the mandate of the UN forces is slowly expiring, on the ground they practically never even started it. Kirsten Haupt, UNCRO spokesman for the former Sector East, admits to that:

"We envisaged the implementation of the 'operation of active presence' in a way that we would control the borders towards the so-called Yugoslavia and the Danube River waterway. Unfortunately, however, we could not even start the operation, since, after 'Operation Storm' the conditions in Sector North and Sector South changed drastically. The situation does not allow us to carry out our tasks in the former Sector East," said Kirsten Haupt.

The truth is the following: Some Serb volunteers, sent by the "red duke" Vojislav Seselj and the war criminal Zeljko Raznatovic-Arkan, arrived on the territory of Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem [Srem], in the so-called autonomous Serb region of Krajina, the only remaining part of the quasi-state of the Republic of Serb Krajina. Along with local extremists, the above-mentioned pair have the main say and are terrorizing the local people, including the native Serbs and UNCRO members, and are shelling the free parts of the Republic of Croatia.

UNCRO members are not allowed to move around the occupied territory of eastern Slavonia and Baranja. Moreover, as Kirsten Haupt stated, eight UNCRO vehicles have been stolen by persons wearing several kinds of uniforms, which confirms the assumption that there are various paramilitary formations on the occupied territory of eastern Croatia, which are not under the same command. Their members do whatever they feel like doing.

This situation is not easy for the people of the occupied territory of Slavonia and Baranja, either. The newcomers are terrorizing everyone, including the native Serbs. They break into houses, taking everything valuable and take away cattle to feed themselves, thus impoverishing entire families. The people there have no one to turn to for help and protection. Force and weapons are what constitutes the law there. The people seem to be living in a ghetto. Even the native Serbs, on whom the newcomers, the good-for-nothings from the garbage dump of the decayed Yugoslavia, have been imposing, can hardly wait for another "Storm" that would make it possible for them to live in the Croatian state. Many people in eastern Slavonia and Baranja, regardless of nationality, religious affiliation, party membership, and other affiliations, consider Croatia their homeland.

Army Captures 9 Serbs

LD2908175395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 95

[Unattributed report from Knin]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian Army has resumed its successful mopping-up operations. As a result, nine members of Serb paramilitary formations were captured today. Some of them joined the Chetnik army as early as the start of the aggression against Croatia. The treatment of the prisoners is more than correct, as they themselves said.

217 Serbs To Face Charges

LD2908180195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb, 29 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—Following "Operation Storm," the military prosecutor's office in Zagreb has received requests for criminal charges to be brought against 217 Krajina Serbs suspected of "committing the criminal act of serving in the enemy army and of armed rebellion."

The investigative judge in the Zagreb military court has been requested to start investigation against all these persons, all of whom are in detention, it was revealed in Zagreb today.

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Commanders Agree To Withdraw Weapons in Slavonia

AU2908172795 Paris AFP in English 1706 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 29 (AFP)—Croatian and separatist Serb military commanders agreed Tuesday to pull back heavy weapons from a front line separating Serb-held eastern Slavonia from the rest of Croatia, the United Nations said.

In a deal designed to ease tensions in the last Serb-held area of the former Yugoslav republic, the opposing factions agreed to pull back mortars from a 10-kilometer (six-mile) zone Tuesday, the UN commander in the region General Freddy Van de Weghe said.

If the initial withdrawal is respected, the Croatian Army and the breakaway Serbs of eastern Slavonia could decide to withdraw their heavy weapons further, creating a buffer zone of 20 kilometers (12 miles), the UN general said.

But despite a cease-fire signed last week between Croatia and breakaway Serbs in oil-rich eastern Slavonia, UN observers have still not been allowed to regain their mobility in the separation zone they patrolled for three years, Van de Weghe said.

The cease-fire has so far been respected, but tensions remained high, the UN official said.

In Belgrade, UN special envoy to former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi confirmed the weapons withdrawal pact, adding that he had discussed the eastern Slavonia question Tuesday with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Akashi said the two military commanders were to meet again Monday and added that the agreement would allow UN observers in the region to return to their posts and accomplish their mission.

Akashi was due on Wednesday to visit eastern Slavonia, the last remaining chunk of Croatian territory in Serb hands following the Croatian army's capture of western Slavonia in May and Krajina in early August.

After the Krajina offensive, Croatia and Serbia both stepped up their military presence on either side of eastern Slavonia, threatening a wider Yugoslav war that would suck in Zagreb and Belgrade.

But following the cease-fire accord, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said he would give the diplomatic process four months to return the region to Croatian control.

Cease-Fire Termed 'Effective'

LD2908184195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1739 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—The three-day cease-fire in Sector East has been effective. This conclusion was reached at a meeting of the [Serb-Croat] joint commission at the Jelenovo-Nemetin border crossing today, the command of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps of the Serb Army of Krajina [SAK] announced in Vukovar today.

The delegations were headed by Major General Dusan Loncar, commander of the SAK Slavonia-Baranja Corps, and General Djuro Decak, commander of the Croatian Army's Osijek Corps operation area. The meeting was chaired by Brigadier General Van den Weghe .

It was agreed at the meeting that the United Nations should draw up a plan to man again the abandoned observation posts. The Serb and Croatian sides will enable UN troops to move freely in order to implement what has been agreed, the statement says.

It is said in the statement that the commission analyzed all the incidents and violations of the cease-fire signed on 25 August and that the two sides agreed to step up the monitoring of small arms and artillery weapons in an effort to prevent provocations and more serious incidents that could flare up into a large-scale conflict.

An agreement was reached to hold the next meeting on 4 September, to assess whether the agreement is being observed and to discuss further steps in stabilizing the situation in the region by peaceful means, the statement says.

HSLS's Budisa Sees State as Regional Power

AU2908115195 Zagreb GLOBUS in Sebo-Croatian 25 Aug 95 pp 7, 9

[Interview with Drazen Budisa, president of the Croatian Social Liberal Party, by Vlado Vurusic; place and date not given: "Although I Entered Liberated Knin Several Hours Before President Franjo Tudjman, He Would Convincingly Win Elections!"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Vurusic] In your opinion, what is the significance of "Operation Storm" in the sphere of internal policy?

[Budisa] I have already said in my message of congratulations to the president of the republic that it was one of the most important military and political operations in recent Croatian history.

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Some people reproach us, saying that lately we have reduced our party's activity only to congratulating, and even your weekly reproached us that, apart from congratulations, we had said nothing. I really do not understand the meaning of those reproaches.

I think that one of our tasks was precisely to give our support to that operation, because it is our national cause, not at all that of our party. During the course of the operation there was no justification for expressing any oppositional stands, because it was the basic question of our national unity.

Therefore I reject such remarks. I think that the moroseness of certain individuals, during "Operation Storm" and afterward, shows that, in fact, they regret that Croatia finally shook off the noose.

Right Moment

[Vurusic] Are you thinking of some opposition leaders?

[Budisa] I am not thinking about the representatives of the opposition parties as much as I am about people who have oppositional views. For example, in the last issue of FERAL TRIBUNE, can you imagine that they called the president of the Republic "a son of a bitch!" That is not only a lack of basic civil manners when talking about the president of the republic, but it really reflects the fact that some people regret Croatia's removing the noose. It seems as if some people favored the situation in which Croatia was largely paralyzed in the economic, communication, and political sense.

I think that we in the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party] behaved exactly as we should in those crucial historical events. This indeed was a historical moment, because once and for all Croatian people got rid of a terrible nightmare that plagued it, it destroyed the center of Serb rebellion, and the preconditions were created for the normal life of the Republic of Croatia, which would never have been able to function normally with a state within the state.

[Vurusic] Public opinion surveys show that the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] profited the most from this operation: The popularity of that party and President Tudjman is rising very fast...

[Budisa] Doubtlessly, the HDZ and President Tudjman seized possession of both "Operation Flash" and "Operation Storm." I was more bothered when the rating of President Tudjman and the HDZ was rising and there were no successes. I do not regret this shift in the mood of the citizens after the action. Let us be fair: It was nevertheless the Croatian authority who made the decision to start that operation. The Croatian authority organized it and chose the right moment.

The further development, the attitude of Croatian citizens toward the authorities and President Tudjman, these remain to be seen.

According to one thesis, this victory is so important that it will definitely affirm the HDZ in power. The HDZ members themselves estimate another 30 years in power.

According to another thesis, only now do the preconditions for a real pluralist life in Croatia exist. Because we had been, because of the situation, in an extremely difficult position to survive as an opposition. That, without doubt, contributed to a certain restraint when criticizing the behavior of the Croatian authorities. There is no more reason for such restraint. The opposition is no longer a hostage of the authorities. Just as Croatia itself, in a way, was a hostage of a Serb state within the state, and of a certain support in some circles of the international community to that Serb parastate. I think that the average Croat will start to assume a different stance toward the authorities and toward the oppositional parties when, in his mind, the attitude develops that the Croatian state is provided for through those efforts of the Croatian people. Since we have provided for our state, our task now is to provide for democratic development, so already on these elections Croatian citizens will ask themselves whether they want the affirmation of the monopoly of one party, with all the negative consequences as the result of that, or whether they will vote for those political options that can guarantee the balance of power in the Croatian state.

Sticking Posters

[Vurusic] There are indications that the elections could take place as soon as November or December....

[Budisa] It is the right of the party in power to decide when they will call an election and to estimate the best moment to do so. Regarding the elections I am, nevertheless, optimistic, and I think that the Croatian people in the next elections will vote for Croatia to be a democratic state, that is, that the balance of power between the authorities and the opposition will be established.

[Vurusic] Nevertheless, do you think that the HDZ has a great advantage, in terms of the large number of the displaced who will now return and who are convinced that the HDZ alone deserves credit for the success of "Operation Storm." There are posters bearing the President's picture, saying: "The Man Who Wins..."

[Budisa] Now that you mention the pictures of President Tudjman in Knin, I will tell you something that, in fact, our public is not familiar with. I, along with several

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representatives of parliament, Mr. Terzic, Mr. Skarica, and other HSLS and HNS [Croatian National Party] officials, including the president of HNS, Mr. Cacic, arrived in Knin on 6 August around one o'clock. We noticed unusual activity over there: putting up posters with President Tudjman and the text "The Man Who Wins" and cleaning the area up. Then we realized that the president was arriving in Knin. It just so happened, however, that we were the first to come to Knin to kiss the Croatian flag on the fortress....

Look, according to the mood of the soldiers on the road from Zitnic to Knin, I am not worried about the reputation of the HSLS and other oppositional parties: They behaved very cordially toward us. I must admit that their behavior toward President Tudjman was even more cordial. A section of the citizens, particularly the displaced, will certainly highly honor him and the HDZ for the deeds of the Croatian Army, which was nevertheless organized by the Croatian authorities.

[Vurusic] What would be your appraisal of President Tudjman's policy in the last couple of months? For it seems that in extreme situations, like military "Operations Flash and Storm" or the signing of Split Declaration, the president acts incomparably better than in democracy.

[Budisa] "Operation Storm" was organized and carried out at the right moment, from the political and military viewpoint. Nobody could have predicted that such a favorable moment would come up. Why? We could not predict that there would be a situation in which the Serbs would capture the safe havens of Zepa and Srebrenica and then head for Bihac, and that the international community would have no solution for the salvation of that enclave. Surely, it was a good appraisal that it was the moment to go. However, the opposition has also had good appraisals. I initiated the Sarajevo Statement and the visit of Croatian oppositional politicians to Sarajevo.... And I will not, of course, claim that the Split Declaration is a direct consequence of the Sarajevo Statement. That would, really, be pretentious. But I only want to emphasize that opposition parties as well have felt the moment for a clear Croatian position regarding Croat-Bosniak military and political cooperation, by which the Washington and other treaties signed so far between the authorities of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are to be activated again.

Regarding the second part of your question, I think that president Tudjman's way of governing the state is tough, with strong elements of authoritarianism and too much stress on the monopoly of the party he is at the head of.

In conditions of peace, secured Croatian borders, in conditions of peace in the neighboring state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, such a manner of management will be an irritating circumstance for normal democratic development.

I once said to President Tudjman: "What, in fact, do you need the HDZ for? You have a position with Croatian people as the president of the republic. As the president of the republic you will cooperate with those political parties that win the majority." He only laughed at that and said that the HDZ would be the leading party as long as he lived. Considering that President Tudjman today, in opinion surveys, gets almost 70 percent of votes, he would win in the elections with incomparably more votes than in the last ones, but, I think that the HDZ would not win as many votes as it won then.

Regional Power

[Vurusic] One of President Tudjman's objectives, as claimed, was also to make Croatia become a regional power. Do you think that Croatia succeeded in this to a certain degree, and what does that mean for its future?

[Budisa] There is no doubt that Croatia is a regional power today, because it has a well-organized and well-armed army, except, perhaps, for some kinds of weapons. That army has proved to be capable of liberating the occupied areas, it has destroyed the myth of Serbian invincibility, it has realized what the international community expects, and that will certainly affirm its international position. But, the international position of Croatia cannot be built only upon the strength of the Croatian Army but also upon the strength and stability of the democratic order, that is, upon the consideration of human rights, media freedom, the Constitution and legality, normal pluralistic partisan life. We should not allow ourselves to bring Croatia's firm international position into question by violating human rights, disrespecting the Constitution, disregarding laws, reducing the freedom of the media. I will remind you of our ambassador's appeal to the UN, addressing all those in our homeland who, to put it mildly, "behave shamelessly," not to aggravate Croatia's position. I think that, now, it is most important that Croatia should show that it advocates equality and the freedom of all its citizens, regardless of their nationality or faith, that there is no revanchism in Croatia. Unfortunately, not all of us are able to cope with such tasks. There are also many things in Croatia, as well as in the liberated areas, that discredit us. I will mention, although there is also a lot of exaggerating, burning houses, plundering. It is hard for me to assess its proportions. I have seen only one part of the liberated territory, but I would like to remind you of the statement given by Cardinal Kuharic, that every bomb activated under a house in Croatia is a bomb activated under Croatia.

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I know that when people do such things they think they do it on behalf of Croatia. Someone should convince them that it causes damage to our national interests.

It must be pointed out that the Serbs who remained in the formerly occupied areas have to be protected, there must be no revanchism.

[Vurusic] Let us get back to the term "regional power." How much does Croatia's new position help us in relations with Serbia? What could it mean for the future of Bosnia?

[Budisa] It becomes ever more clear in the world, and the media work upon the creation of the mood in Croatia as well, that Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a state, is written off, that it has no prospects, and that a realistic policy for it is the policy of ethnic demarcation and division. That, in fact, is also suggested by this most recent American plan. At the beginning of this conflict no normal person would have expected that Croatian-Serbian-Bosniak relations would be solved through ethnic cleansing and full national homogenization. However, we are aware that this process has largely been realized, and that it is still going on. The Serbs have left on a massive scale areas of Croatia that were until recently occupied, and every day thousands of Croats leave the region of Banja Luka and come to Croatia. After this war, the demographic picture of the territory of former Yugoslavia will be essentially changed. According to some information, 4 million people left their homes!

Territorial Compensations

[Vurusic] Today, there is open speculation about the agreements on the exchange of population and territories....

[Budisa] Yes. People say that the success of Karadzic's army in eastern Bosnia coincided with the success of the Croatian Army in western Bosnia, that the Serbs have limited their national pretensions to the area of eastern Bosnia plus the Bosnian, Banja Luka region with a wide corridor and plus the occupied parts in the northeast of Croatia. Croatia has been liberating those areas that had mainly been inhabited by the Serbs, and that is because of Croatia's geostrategic and security interests, and thus a homogeneous Croatian area has been created in the west, and a Serbian one in the east, at the cost of the written-off Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, I doubt that those estimations are realistic.

[Vurusic] Do you think that the international community has written off Bosnia-Herzegovina then?

[Budisa] I think that the international community would write Bosnia off if all three sides would agree upon such a situation in which they would fix ethnic boundaries and if peace would come on the basis of that. I hold that to be an unrealistic policy and I think that it is not a good solution in the long term. People talk about territorial compensations.

There is no authority in Croatia that could write off any part of Croatia, and there is no Croat who could agree with that.

I think that those who could possibly be inclined to think about compensation are also aware of that.

Theoretically speaking, it is possible to arrange a certain correction of the state borders, but only theoretically. And when Croatia and Serbia are discussed, that is possible. Because that entails, in such negotiations, our demanding of certain territories that are within the Serbian state. The Croats and the Serbs cannot discuss territorial compensation at the expense of third states. There can be a correction of borders, in some places, just as our experience from the negotiations with the Slovenes teaches us.

I do not support such negotiations. One should stick to the borders established after the collapse of Yugoslavia, to the borders of the former republics within former Yugoslavia.

Why do I say, not at the expense of third states? Because I assess that the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina will not accept such a solution. And, finally, they have rejected that once, they refused the new American plan on compensation like Sarajevo for Gorazde....

[Vurusic] After "Operations Flash and Storm," it is obvious that Croatia will not negotiate for a long time with the Serbs in eastern Slavonia.

[Budisa] A large military confrontation of power does not suit anyone now, and I think that restraint is still necessary. If military action is necessary, it will be at the moment of Milosevic's system caving in, which I think will happen soon. There are problems with Montenegrins, Albanians, refugee and other problems, and I think that all this will soon bring about turmoil in Serbia.

Although it is realistic to expect that those areas will be liberated only by military action, I nevertheless do not support premature actions.

[Vurusic] If the elections take place, as has been announced, toward the end of this year, or at the latest in the spring, will the HSLS appear alone or in a coalition?

[Budisa] Our party leadership is convinced that the Croatian Peasants Party is a partner with whom we should cooperate.

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It depends upon the law on elections, and there have been some changes announced. As soon as we find out what the law on elections looks like, we will make a final decision on which political parties we will cooperate with.

I think, in principle, that it would be more convenient if the parties of similar political profile united, than that all the parties were against the HDZ.

We will probably be ready for the elections by the end of the year. We will direct our activity in the following period to organizing our party as well as possible. We have organized our election staff, distributed the assignments on both the level of the main office and on that of counties. It depends upon whether there are local elections, that is, for municipalities and towns, or only elections for the House of Representatives and the House of Counties. HSLS is ready for such elections.

Poll: 'Lasting Peace' Needs 'Total' Serb Defeat

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[FBIS Editorial Report] Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian carries on page 6 of its 28 August issue the results of a telephone survey carried out "for HRVATSKI OBZOR on 21 and 22 August" by the Metron Analysis and Research Agency on a sample of "450 respondents from all Croatian counties." The results are as follows:

In response to the question "Do you believe that a total defeat of the Serbs is needed to secure lasting peace?," 82.9 percent of respondents answered "yes," 15.6 percent "no," and 1.5 percent "do not know."

In response to "Do you think that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is avoiding involvement in the war for fear that it could be defeated?," 61.6 percent of respondents answered "yes," 27.3 percent "no," and 11.1 percent "do not know."

When asked "Do you think that Milosevic and Serbia will share the fate of Hitler and Nazi Germany?," 52.5 percent of respondents answered "yes," 35.3 percent "no," while 12.2 percent "do not know."

The fourth question asked was: "Do you think that the international community will help the Serbs avoid complete defeat?" Out of the 450 respondents, 61.3 percent answered "yes," 29.6 "no," and 9.1 percent "do not know."

Finally, the respondents were asked: "Do you believe that the Serb war criminals will be convicted by the International War Crimes Tribunal?" Out of the sample, 61.3 percent said "yes," 36.2 percent said "no," and 2.5 percent said "do not know."

Racist Attitudes in Government Condemned

95BA0302Q Zagreb ARKZIN in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 95 p 6

[Article by Tatjana Tagirov: "The Black-and-White World"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It started back in 1990, the incitement of racial, ethnic, religious, and other forms of intolerance. In a country that its top leader calls "the most democratic in the world," no one in five years has been indicted for a single statement or a single act under the Croatian Criminal Code concerning racial, (in our case, particularly) ethnic, and religious intolerance.

Our president begins every address to the public with "Croats," and citizens, when he does not forget them, come only in second place. Neither the numerous cases when many Croatian diplomats have put their hands to their ears nor the president's patronizing apology to the Jews have helped the world to forget his statement that "he is happy that his wife is neither Serbian nor Jewish." He has had nothing to say about his grandchildren, who are half Serb, who only after they crossed the threshold of adulthood have been accompanied by their mother, who today has accumulated unseemly wealth.

We will also recall the meeting of the parliament in which the actor Damir Mejovsek indulged an urge for theatricality and said: "Do not trust a Serb even when he comes bearing gifts." His fellow in the parliament, who in the meantime has become a Democrat and opponent of the incumbent party and of President Tudjman, Stipe Mesic, shouted at one time that "The Serbs can carry from Croatia only as much Croatian soil as they have sticking to their peasant sandals."

Kokoticek Sings Pretty

In a country in which everyone talks about nothing but democracy, Europe, and the thousand years of Croatian culture, a fascist newspaper, VINKOVACKI VJESNIK, is tolerated; its editor, nota bene, represents himself on his business cards as an "independent Ustasha." He is welcome at presidential monthly news conferences, where the chief editors of FERAL, GLOBUS, ARKZIN, and BUMERANG are not welcome.... In that case, it is easy to believe that, as we assume, the president was already angry at a shameful tax on FERAL being removed, quietly and in the background, and so removed the same tax from that fascist publication.

Is it any wonder, then, that similar statements are multiplying like mushrooms after a rain? Those who ex officio should be reacting to them are not reacting. Private prosecutors, even in cases of slander and insult, can count on lengthy proceedings with no end in sight,

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aware that the only one whose complaints are resolved quickly is Tomislav Mercep.

But it seems that, along with those whose names have been called up to now and who have been sullied according to the ethnic or religious criterion, the blacks are now having their turn!

In a session of the House of Representatives of the Croatian Assembly, that is, Deputy Antun Vrdoljak, film director, former poultry raiser, until recently the director of the Cathedral of the Spirit, and today, thanks to his hand on his heart and his immeasurable Croatism, has taken care of his existence forever with the status of a member of the MOK [expansion not given] (worth thousands of dollars a month), made the following declaration: Croatia is selling its best players, and, "in return, is buying blacks." This is his explanation: "Our children want to be cabinetmakers, physicians, and so on, but I do not know a single child who would like to be black," and he added: "What I said is not racism, because no black wants to become white." And he had an illustration for all this; instead of Toni Kukoc and Tihomil [Dino] Radja, who have gone off into foreign waters, "A little black has come who, after the first game, was declared to be a drug addict."

That is not the first outrageous public statement Vrdoljak has made. We recall the beginning of "multiparty life" for the Croats, when he was counting the blood cells of opposition leaders. He, whose motto more than once has been "God and I order you," said with a straight face of Drazen Budisa that "his noble heart and his quick brain are fertilized by his Byzantine blood." This was immediately followed by the charge against that person that in his family tree, just imagine the shame, there was a "Serbian grandmother," to which Budisa hastily began to justify himself, which probably says less about the two of them and more about the "democratic and tolerant" climate in which one lives in Croatia.

But Vrdoljak is not interested only in those who have Serbian blood cells in their blood, or, in the most recent case, those whose skin is black, and this was not caused by the sun of Imotski or anywhere else. This "Imotski Aryan," as Alemka Lisinski called him three years ago in the late DANAS (that first one), also had something to say about women. We still remember his statement with which, in manly fashion, which is proper in these parts, which by no means are Balkan, but refined European, he responded, also publicly, to articles of Tanja Torbarina, who for a time was "paid in advance" not to bypass his life and deeds. "If I had a hog, Tanja could not be his sow, because she is sterile! It would be hard to find a boar for her!" When she filed a private complaint against the barking film director, former raiser of poultry, until recently director of the Croatian Cathedral of the Spirit, and, today, a deputy and member of the MOK, the parliamentary deputy appealed on the instant to his deputy's immunity. It is worth noting that this brilliant idea has been taken advantage of by deputies subsequently charged because of what they blurted out about someone else.

Killing for Croatia

But Vrdoljak is far from being the only star on that garrulous Croatian political stage. Sime Djodan, for example, has said all kinds of things, but, in response to his statement such as the one that Serbs "have pointed heads" (pursuing the logic of this, Croats, then, ought to have "dull heads"), the public perceives him mainly as a buffoon on the Croatian political scene.

It is far more indicative when someone known for his numerous colorful statements becomes Croatian deputy prime minister. The reference is, of course, to Bosiljak Misetic, Zagreb Herzegovinian from Ljubusko, "a boy from Henessey," a former lawyer who was earlier known to the general public as minister of justice and administration in the Democratic Unity government and then founder of the New Croatian Right, who says that the good thing about Savka Dabcevic-Kucar is that she realized that the "Ustasha line in the party was nevertheless more acceptable to the Croatian people...because wherever the Croatian Ustasha treads, the Serb is cautious to enter."

The Croatian deputy prime minister, then, is a man known for his harsh statements, which indicate that for him it is very difficult in politics to abide by the law (which is his field) and legislation. His very frank statement about collective Serbian guilt is indicative, because the burden of sin of their fellow countrymen must be borne "even by those who did not get their hands bloody...above all, the Serbs in Croatia." By his own admission, he "truly hates the Serbs," and the newly coined term spiritual renewal, which supposedly the Croatian people is in need of, comes out this way in Misetic's version: "For a long time, we were captive to certain illusions of our own in educating our children, that is, the Croatian people. In the spiritual renewal the child from birth, that is, before it learns to read and write, should be taught who his enemy is. And his enemy in this region is the Serb. This does not mean that one should develop in him a resistance to the point where he would kill tomorrow, but from the very beginning, just as he learns to read, to speak, and to behave properly, he should be taught that all the evil committed against the Croatian individual and the Croatian people in this region has been done by the Serbs."

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On that same occasion, Misetic discovered what kind of people Croatia needs: It seems that our government has finally realized this and appointed him deputy prime minister. So, speaking about emotions in politics, Misetic defined "his unfortunate generation, because what in some places was deeply suppressed was awakened in us," that which is not normal and inherent in man's life. And so, our brand new prime minister said: "In that burst of emotions, Croatia today needs people who can cry for Croatia, die for Croatia, and, most important, kill for Croatia."

Serbs, Vladimir Bebic, Blacks, Women...

He was a visionary, you have to give him that, he made that statement in November 1992. Today, many people are crying for Croatia who were dreaming, and the graves tell us that many have also died. When it comes to killing, in true Christian fashion, Misetic has declared that "he will volunteer to carry out the death sentence against Slobodan Milosevic if Croatia ever has the opportunity to try him as a war criminal!" Even if he is for Croatia, that is quite enough of Misetic. Prime Minister Valentic, justifying himself to the parliament, found a justification for Misetic: "He is not a racist, but a nationalist!"

But what is strange about that? In our most democratic country in the world, it is quite normal for its commander in chief to present all kinds of orders to those who have earned them for crimes, even war crimes, to those who might be suitable ambassadors of Croatia in The Hague for the responsibility they have imposed on Croats, on the citizens of our homeland.

I do not know what they will think up to "wash off" the election of the deputy prime minister. Vrdoljak nevertheless took a small step back when he thought up the sentence: "Sometimes I would rather be black than be Vladimir Bebic." So, this is the negative ranking: Serbs, Vladimir Bebic, blacks, women. A sound mind in a sound body, a black mind in a white body, at least as far as Vrdoljak is concerned.

Article 133 of the Criminal Code (not the one from the former system; the numbers were changed after the amendments!) says this: Whosoever on the basis of differences in race, color of skin, nationality, or ethnic origin violates basic human rights and freedoms recognized by the international community shall be punished by no fewer than six months and no more than five years in prison. And then, whosoever spreads ideas about the superiority of one race over another or propagates racial hatred, or incites racial discrimination, shall be punished by not fewer than three months and not more than three years in prison.

Those who from the ramparts of the homeland will read all this as yet another case of informing on Croatia, a recommendation: Read Paragraph 2 of that same article, which states: Whosoever persecutes organizations or individuals because they advocate people's equality shall be punished by no fewer than six months and no more than five years in prison.

Tourist Industry Accumulates Seasonal Losses

95BA0304B Zagreb BANKA in Serbo-Croatian Jul 95 p 15

[Unattributed article: "Tourism: Mastodons Dying Off"]

[FBIS Translated Text] What will happen to the big Adriatic tourism companies at the end of this year's season? Instead of the expected 30-percent increase in guests, it is likely that there will be a 30-percent decrease. As long as images of military landings in Split harbor are broadcast on television screens around the world day in and day out, accompanied by commentary to the effect that there have not been as many warships in the Adriatic since World War II, Dalmatia can forget about tourism. Croatia Airlines has cut in half the price of tickets to Dubrovnik in order to encourage at least locals to fly to Cipili. Shortfalls are being posted even in Kvarner and Istria. Domestic tourism sales directors returned from a promotional campaign in the Czech Republic, held after the military raid in western Slavonia, in a sour mood. Croatia is too expensive for Hungarians, because their forint is worth too little. Perversely, even the weather has turned against tourism, it has been some time since there has been as much rain as there was this June.

Even if the tourists come, the season this summer will be very short, and the bottom line will be exceptionally meager. If they managed to keep prices at the planned level, hoteliers still cannot do enough business in several weeks to survive for 12 months. Even after last year's record season, the majority of them ended the year in the red. In all of Primorska-Goranska Zupanija, only three hotel companies were in the black at the end of 1994. According to the Rijeka Zupanija Chamber, losses (the total figure for 21 midsize and large companies) are climbing to 175.6 billion kunas, while reported profits amount to only 1 billion kunas. This is the most developed tourism region in Croatia, including Opatija, Crikvenica, Novi Vinodolski, Cres, Losinj, Krk, and Rab, a region where the majority of the hotels operate summer and winter and where the work force is mostly permanent.

What will be the consequences of this year's already certain business losses? Will they result in the definitive collapse of the Adriatic's 40 tourism mastodons that

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exist in their old form to this day, with only partially revamped portfolios?

"Covering the losses from the national budget is out of the question," Miljenko Weiss, vice chairman of the Croatian Fund for Privatization, notes firmly. "Most likely, the Fund will propose to stockholders in companies where there is an owner that the losses be recouped through some of the company's property. The question will probably arise as to how realistic the previously estimated value of individual properties is and under what conditions capital can be obtained. Naturally, we must start getting used to the fact that we do not resolve welfare considerations in stockholders meetings."

In other words, it can be expected that hotel companies will seek a solution either by taking out new mortgages or by selling hotels. Dr. Miro Dragicevic, director of the Horwath & Horwath consulting firm, which tracks the business dealings of Istraturist in Umag, Rivijera in Poreka, and Zlatni Rat in Bol (all three companies finished last year in the red), says this: "The problem is that, at those companies, aside from several hotels acquired by private owners, transformation has indeed been carried out, but the inherited socialist hotel structure has remained, with an inflexible management that does not know how to adapt to new circumstances. Moreover, our hotels are built like military barracks and are completely inappropriate for family hotel business, which is much more adaptable and can survive much more easily in crisis situations. However, the blame rests with the state, which has recklessly overdone the loud optimism and unnecessarily spent significant resources on publicity. We will probably see layoffs of 50 percent of the staffs and the preservation of many hotels until better days arrive. Perhaps some hotels should be converted into apartments and sold. Anyway, small stockholders are refusing en masse to pay in their purchased shares, so that the state and banks are left with the responsibility to apply some sort of crisis scenario."

[Box, p 15]

The redecorated deluxe Hotel Mozart opened in Opatija in mid-June. It is the former Esplanada, built early in the century as a family hotel, and is neither too big nor too small. The Mozart is currently the best-furnished hotel on the Croatian Adriatic coast, designed for a small, elite public. Guests at the opening were welcomed on behalf of the owners by the former director and creator of ACI, nautical enthusiast Veljko Barbieri.

RSK's Vojnovic Views Reasons for Krajina's Fall

AU2908160095 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 95 pp 20-21

[Interview with Milivoje Vojnovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina, by Mara Popovic; place and date not given: "Unplanned Exodus"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At the beginning of the interview, Milivoje Vojnovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], felt the need to make a little remark or rather give an explanation: "In the government of Borislav Mikelic, I was in charge of sports. I was appointed to the post of foreign minister less than a month ago. I ask you to take this into consideration when asking questions."

Minister Vojnovic (who is otherwise a gym teacher) did not expect that he would undergo his first test in Geneva some 10 days after assuming his new post. He represented the RSK government in the talks with the Croatian delegation a day before the 4 August Croatian Army invasion. [passage omitted]

[Popovic] Is it clear to you what actually happened on 4 August in the western RSK?

[Vojnovic] I shall begin my answer in Geneva. Our delegation, as you know, embraced all seven points that were offered by UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg there. For the sake of truth, I must admit that we did this with great reluctance, that our commission was not unanimous. [passage omitted]

The following day we were told in a hotel in Geneva that the Croatian attack had started at 0600 in the morning. At 1720, President Martic issued an order on the planned evacuation of the civilians from the municipalities of Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac, Drnis, and Gracac. Here, Martic quoted the RSK Supreme Defense Council, which was incorrect. The decision was only backed by himself and General Mile Mrksic.

[Popovic] Who issued the order on the army's withdrawal?

[Vojnovic] All soldiers who are now in Belgrade claim that they received such orders from their superiors. For that reason, the government members, at a recent session in Bijeljina, insisted that President Martic and Gen. Mrksic say who had requested the army's withdrawal. We were presented with proof that Martic only signed a decree on the evacuation of civilians. Mrksic adamantly denied ordering the army's withdrawal from western RSK. [passage omitted]

[Popovic] Where is Gen. Mrksic now?

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[Vojnovic] He, as well as President Martic, are in Banja Luka.

[Popovic] You declared that the RSK government was not in exile. How did you mean this?

[Vojnovic] The government is currently in Belgrade. I believe that it is not in exile because it is together with its people, who are mostly here. At the time of the exodus, the government members were scattered in three places: In the crisis headquarters in Banja Luka, in Bijeljina, and in Belgrade. We expect that the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] will find the place for and facilitate the future normal functioning of the government.

[Popovic] Was it not agreed that the government headquarters would be in Vukovar?

[Vojnovic] The state administration will be located there, in conformity with the decision made by the leadership at the latest session in Bijeljina.

[Popovic] Does the government back President Martic's announcement about the continuation of the guerrilla war?

[Vojnovic] No, just as we do not back many other statements by him. We do not agree with a policy that he pursued together with his advisers from the Serb Republic. Martic was deceiving his own people by saying that we were capable of not only defending, but also conquering the territories lost in 1991. We also disapprove of his position that there can be no negotiations with the Croats. The results of such a policy have manifested themselves most clearly in the case of western Slavonia.

I would like to particularly emphasize that the government condemns sharply the mobilization that is underway at the moment when the people are arriving on a tide of the biggest and gravest of exoduses. We demanded that this order by President Martic be revoked. It would be better to mobilize intellectuals and other thinkers who would seek a way for political negotiations. [passage omitted]

[Popovic] Can the responsibility for the fall of western RSK be ascribed exclusively to the Krajina leadership?

[Vojnovic] It really is the biggest culprit. To be precise, I am referring to those individuals who favored a war option rather than negotiations. [passage omitted]

[Popovic] It seems that nobody is quite clear as to what happened there? Can you explain why everything was abandoned without a fight?

[Vojnovic] It is definite that the divisions within the RSK leadership are one of the main reasons. Crime and war profiteering, which have spread roots on this territory for four years, have had a devastating effect.

Believe me, I, myself, wonder what happened. On the other hand, I suspected that things could end tragically as illusions were perpetrated all the time. Finally, one must also remember the sense of abandonment that the people had, especially because of Maslenica, the Medak pocket, and western Slavonia. I repeat, we must learn lessons.

Zagreb's 'Favourite Weapon Is False Information'

LD2708140295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1320 GMT 27 Aug 95

[Report by Nikola Stanojevic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug. 27 (TANJUG)—It can be seen following Croatia's aggression on Krajina, which resulted in the exodus of about 250,000 Serbs, that Croatia's favourite weapon is false information. Pressured by irrefutable evidence of murdered civilians, torching of Serb houses, and looting throughout Krajina, Tudjman's regime stammed out: "there were...individual incidents," said certain government members, and then again, silence.

An additional "life-saving" explanation was found subsequently for the torching and destruction of Serb houses: this was done by "desperate" Croatian refugees when they saw "the ruins and burnt remains of their own homes." In time, explanations evolved, so that Foreign Minister Mate Granic said he had heard that "Serbs set fire to their own homes."

All Croatia now needs to do is find the "guilty party" who bombed columns of fleeing refugees, murdered elderly inmates of a home for the retarded near Topusko, massacred civilians in the village of Zagrovic, murdered people and set them on fire in their own homes....

The Croatian authorities claim: "if there had indeed been individual incidents...the Army did not take part."

An example immediately denies this false information. Namely, Croatian troops killed two civilians, beat another, and set fire to his house in the village of Kakanj two weeks after the aggression on Krajina, in plain view of European Union observers.

Chief of operative administration of the Croatian Army General Staff, Gen. Vinko Vrbanec praised the "excellent propaganda activities" of the Defense Ministry's political administration headed by Gen. Ivan Tolj. Tolj, a general and a poet, gave press conferences during the attack on Serb Krajina which were "poetically inspired. Information and false information were placed at the right time," a pleased Gen. Vrbanec said.

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Anything that does not fit into such information, intertwined with many falsehoods, is proclaimed by Croatian officials and public media as a "special war" against Croatia.

Criticisms are particularly aimed at international humanitarian organizations and members of the UN peace force.

The regime is especially irritated by UN spokesman in Zagreb Christopher Gunness, a man who merely passes on findings of others, although he had personally seen on Aug. 20 bodies of a murdered man and a woman in civilian clothing on the road between Dvor and Glina.

On Friday, Aug. 18, the UN received a report on findings of bodies of people killed with shots in the head. The UN still does not know if they were civilians or not, and it is possible that they were executions, Gunness said.

Gunness underscored that the Croatian Army had in many places violated human rights, which the international community could not accept.

Many reports from all over the world send warnings to Croatia.

Zagreb was especially disturbed that Croatia's proven friend, German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, had criticitized his proteges for the looting, torching and destruction in Krajina.

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Assembly To Review Draft Self-Management Law

AU2908183295 Skopje MIC in English 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "The Law on local self-management, as a government proposal, has entered parliamentary procedure, and we expect it to reach the daily agenda, in the middle of September. As to Mr. Tairi's views—I regard them as one more contribution to the public debate on this important Draft-law which is taking place these days, but which can not be taken seriously," Justice Minister Vlado Popovski told NOVA MAKEDONIJA yesterday, in relation to Mevljan Tairi's (PDP [Party of Democratic Prosperity] MP [member of parliament]) assertions, that the law will be returned to the Government for re-review. Namely, as we already published, Mr. Tairi told the newspaper FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT that the return of the draft-law on local self-management to the Government is a result of the talks of the representatives of the parties of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] with Government representatives, in the presence of mediator Gert Ahrens. According to Tairi, Minister Popovski agreed for the Government to add the results from the negotiations within the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia in Geneva and the remarks pertaining to this law to the new version of the law on local self-management, only after which it would be allowed to enter parliamentary procedure.

However, as Minister Popovski told us, the assertions of the PDP representative are incorrect and present an attempt to politicize the process of adopting this major system law. "Such statements mislead the public into believing that the Government is bargaining over this law outside the already set procedure, which is not true," Vlado Popovski says. "As for the remarks of PDP in relation to the law, I must emphasize that two versions of the local self-management have already passed in Government, which has ministers—representatives of PDP as well, and if it can be taken as a reality that they represent the stances of this party, then I can say that there are no remarks from that side," says Popovski.

Minister Popovski also made it clear that the review of the Draft-law on local self-management in the Council of Europe has contributed for the final version of the draft to be fully coordinated with the European principles of local self-management. As to the upcoming negotiations in Geneva, says Popovski, there's no doubt that some rational and acceptable proposals could "fall" over there, which could well be reviewed in the form of amendments even during the parliamentary procedure of the law on local self-management.

The PDP MP Mevljan Tairi, who is also taking part in the Geneva negotiations, told us yesterday that the law on local self-management will still be the topic of negotiations with the representatives of the Macedonian Government who accept negotiations and on a couple of key issues, such as: the competences of the local self-management, the use of languages and the very concept of councils and mayor. He stressed that the competences of the municipalities, especially in the field of culture, education, health protection, are given in the law far under the constitutional framework, that the supervision of the central organs is far too great, which disrupts the autonomic principle of the local self-management. Tairi pointed out the model of mayor and municipal council as a possible obstacle in the inter-ethnic relations, since in municipalities with mixed national composition where the mayor would be either Macedonian or Albanian, the other side would always be practically excluded from the executive power and suggests, as a possible solution, among the rest, the restoration of the old model of assemblies, presidents and executive boards. As to the questions regarding the use of languages, Tairi stressed that there are still great differences in stances in relation to the percentage of nationalities and that that question is intentionally marginalized with the fact that the Government draft-law foresees the use of two languages only in the organs of the local self-management. Bedredin Ibrahimi's (NDP [People's Democratic Party] secretary) stance is also similar. Yesterday, he stated that the Government representatives had agreed to return the draft-law to the Government for re-review and to withdraw it from parliamentary procedure in order to clear up all misunderstanding. He reiterated that it had been agreed at the negotiations in Geneva on September 11 to review this draft-law article by article in order to clear up any misunderstanding.

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Church's Role in Election Analyzed

WS2908144995 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Article by R.W., M.R., and AKA: "The Church Provides Guidelines, Voters Make Decisions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The guidelines the episcopate has given to voters regarding the 1995 presidential election do not differ from the stand it took in 1991.

When "elections" were not really elections and when the church could not say all the things it wanted to, the Polish Episcopate chose to remain silent. On two occasions, however, it departed from this principle. After the detainment of Primate Wyszynski, Bishop Michal Klepacz, chairman of the Episcopate Conference, and Bishop Zygmunt Choromanski, secretary of the conference, announced an encouraging letter to believers before the "elections" to people's councils in 1954. Right before the Sejm elections in January 1957, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, who was consistent in implementing the new agreement between bishops and the authorities of the Polish People's Republic and who seriously treated the episocopate's commitment to acting "in favor of stabilization," supported one ticket of the National Unity Front and Gomulka's appeal to vote without crossing off anything. From 1965 on, the primate, bishops, and most of the clergy boycotted elections—until 1989.

Before the elections to the "contract" parliament in 1989, the episcopate unequivocally supported Solidarity candidates; and in 1990, before the second round of presidential elections, it endorsed Walesa, whose opponent was Tyminski. However, later on, during the campaign for the 1991 parliamentary elections, the bishops wrote the following letter (also announced in the month of August): "We will not take any sides. We will not point to any ticket. We prohibit priests from waging election campaigns or allowing them to be waged in churches and chapels." They presented a favorable vision of parliamentarians and recalled that the country needs competent and efficient politicians. In September they added more guidelines, criteria that would make it possible to reject those candidates who do not respect the church's stand on abortion and teaching of religion at school, as well as who do not respect the traditions of Polish people and Christian values. Primate Glemp provided an additional explanation: Christianity does not impose choosing a particular party, and therefore, Catholics can work in various political groups. Naturally, a Catholic cannot be part of a group which objects to Christian values.

Reactions

"The message of the most recent letter by the bishops was clear. The bishops said explicitly that the communist candidate should not be backed," RZECZPOSPOLITA was told by Zbigniew Wrzesinski, a member of Jan Olszewski's campaign staff. "It is directed against those candidates who showed in the past that they did not serve the Polish people and that they objected to the fundamental values of the Christian world view."

"It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of this letter," said Rafal Szymczak, a member of Jacek Kuron's campaign staff. "The bishops' letter is an example of the church's positive participation in public life. Jacek Kuron is very satisfied with the content of the letter."

Jerzy Rogala-Lewicki, of Tadeusz Zielinski's committee, also does not want to assess the effect that the bishops' letter might have on people. According to him, church leaders pointed out to a concrete person as the best presidential candidate.

"It is, of course, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz," he added.

The bishops' letter was "no surprise" to Aleksander Kwasniewski's campaign staff, declared Zbigniew Siemiatkowski. He added, however, that Kwasniewski cannot be blamed for something he was not part of.

"The bishops have already made their choice and shown their candidate, so they must assume full responsibility for the candidate," Siemiatkowski said, not adding exactly whom he meant.

"The letter is a serious commitment for Catholic circles," believes Adam Cichocki, of Adam Strzembosz's campaign staff. "I believe that this will be important to the Polish people. The church will stand up for values which are important to Catholics. It showed that these values should also be respected by a presidential candidate who wants to act for the common good."

A Recollection of Former Approval

Even though nearly all our country's inhabitants consider themselves Catholics, and 50-60 percent, depending on the poll, declare weekly participation in masses, the influence which the church has on Poles' actions and behavior is not obvious. Now there is only a recollection of the past indubitable approval, which is proved by the ranking lists of public organizations which is drawn up regularly by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS]. (Respondents were asked whether the activity of a given organization serves the people well). In 1989, nine out of 10 citizens approved of the activities of the church; now this approval has plummeted to approximately 50 percent. The critical group is nearly just

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as large (and in some months even larger). An example of the last few years' ratings can be seen on the flow chart.

In the past, approval for the church dropped radically on a few occasions. One of the possible reasons for this was the fact that the church was involved in public political and ideological discussions, such as discussions on abortion and the Concordat.

There are differences in the criticism of the church expressed by individual groups of our society. Approval is declared by most people over 55 years of age, pensioners, senior citizens, inhabitants of rural areas and the eastern regions of the country, peasants, people with elementary education and with low incomes, people taking part in religious practices quite often (at least once a week), as well as supporters of right-wing parties. These groups might respond the most favorably to the appeals and suggestions made by the clergy—all the more so because sociologists believe that these circles are the least interested in what is going on in politics and that they are the least knowledgeable about politics, which means that they are also very easy to influence.

"Too Much of the Church"

Most people believe, however, that church's participation in public life is too great today. Such were the results of a poll conducted by the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP] late last year. Nearly three-fourths of Poles agreed with the statement that the political activity of the church is too great; one-fifth (21 percent) did not have any reservations about the church's role, and only six percent said that the church's participation was too small. More than half of the respondents said that the church should not get involved in politics at all; one-third stated that it should play only a limited role, and very few replied that it should significantly participate in political life.

In a poll conducted for RZECZPOSPOLITA in July by the Social Research Laboratory [PBS], as many as 66 percent of the respondents agreed that the church "went beyond its powers" when it decided to take a stand on the future constitution; only 26 percent did not have any reservations.

* * *

The author used the results of the following polls: CBOS polls conducted between 1989 and 1995—the most recent one was conducted between 7-12 July 1995 on a representative 1,115-person sample of adult residents of Poland; OBOP poll conducted between 1-4 October 1994 on a representative sample of 1,030 persons over age 16; PBS poll for RZECZPOSPOLITA, conducted between 15-16 July 1995 on a representative sample of 1,020 adult residents of Poland.

Possibility of F-16 Sales to Poland Viewed

95P20995A Krakow CZAS KRAKOWSKI in Polish 4 Aug 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by G.K.: "F-16's Fighting With MiG's"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

"Who Will Defend the Polish Skies?"

In agreement with the so-called Vienna Accords, the Polish Armed Forces can have 460 combat aircraft. Two hundred and twenty of these are outdated ones from the 1960's—MiG-21's—which have to be replaced with new ones. But what kind?

The Americans have offered us the F-16C (previously called the "D" version, which is incorrect because that is a two-seater). The French are tempting us with the Mirage 2000 and the Swedes with the Gripen. Jan Hoffmann from the Krakow Air and Aeronautical Museum emphasized that the choice of a fighter for our air force "is not only a technical decision. The security of our skies will depend on the country in which the fighters protecting [Poland] will be produced. [as published]. Unlike the majority of former Warsaw Pact countries, Poland did not purchase the MiG-23 from the former USSR. We cannot go the way of the Czechs, who decided on long-term modernization of their MiG-23 ML's, equipping them with French air-to-air and air-to-ground weapon systems. Because of the high costs, already in June of this year the Czechs stopped flying their MiG-29's."

Poland has only 12 MiG-29's. All are located in the 1st Fighter Regiment "Warsaw," located in Minsk-Mazowiecki. Their pilots spend no more than 50 hours in the air, while their German counterparts spend between 180 and 200 hours. Russia is proposing for sale to Poland the still unproduced series MiG-29M. Hoffmann states that all of the aircraft produced in the West are more user-friendly than those produced in the East. For example, a MiG-29 pilot has to see whether the aircraft is flying according to the prearranged parameters. In Western aircraft, an onboard computer does this for the pilot.

The Achilles heel of the MiG's is their electronic set-up and their engine, which has a short life span and demands constant overhaul. The MiG-29 does not have to be ashamed of its armament. The classical version of the F-16 is equipped with the sidewinder missile for combatting targets in the air. This is not for long distances [as published]. For middle distances, the

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Americans use the "Amraam" rocket. The question our negotiators cannot forget is whether the Americans will want to sell them to us.

"Harmful Neutrality"

When the four NATO countries of Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway were looking for a new fighter, the Swedish offer gave way to the American for two reasons. First, as a neutral country, Sweden could not guarantee the supply of spare parts in the event of war, and it did not permit, as opposed to the United States, the production of parts in the nations that purchased its aircraft.

The Germans, who are using MiG-29's from the former German Democratic Republic even though they are paying hard cash to Russia, are having many problems obtaining spare parts. The main cause of this is the chaotic situation of the Russian economy. Many parts of the fighter are used up very quickly. The tires have to be replaced after three or four landings.

"Only Systems"

An F-16C without any additional items costs approximately $20 million, but a radio-navigation system, communications system, and a friend-or-foe identification system have still to be added to it. The aircraft is purchased with its full weapon systems and diagnostic equipment. Professionals say one is purchasing a "system." Of course, the on-ground diagnostic systems have largely limited the in-air catastrophes involving the F-16. A fully operational F-16 costs $44.5 million, while a MiG, although its "systems" are cheaper, is more expensive.

For the Polish Armed Forces, the distance an aircraft can fly is also important. The MiG-29 (without additional fuel tanks) has a distance of 710 to 1,430 km, an F-16 to 925km. In both cases, the distance is too short for Polish needs. If an F-16 starts in Powidze, it can reach Bieszczady and come back. According to Hoffmann, the F-16 has one more advantage over the MiG-29. The American aircraft has already been tested in battle. The Israelis used F-16's to bomb the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981, and the F-16 also passed its test in the Persian Gulf war.

Szczecin-Goleniow Airport Transfer Arrangements

MM2908160095 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 10 Aug 95 p 8

["Proposal for the Use of Szczecin-Goleniow Airport, Drawn Up by the Interdepartmental Commission Appointed Under the National Defense Minister's Decision No. 78 of 16 June 1995"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Interdepartmental Commission has analyzed the positions of all sides interested in continuing civil aviation operations [at Szczecin-Goleniow] and preserving the state's defense interests. The commission has adopted the following decisions concerning the procedure for changing the airport's administrative authority.

1. The voivoda of Szczecin shall:

1.1. Apply to the minister of national defense, not later than 30 September 1995, with the proposal that the Ministry of National Defense [MON] relinquish its administration of the Goleniow airport complex;

1.2. Authorize the executive officer of the Goleniow Regional Office to take over the administration of the referent property following the cessation of the MON's administration;

1.3. Apply to the minister of transport and maritime economy with the proposal to enter Szczecin-Goleniow Airport in the State Register of Civilian Airport, and also include the airport's target requirements in the Goleniow parish land development plan;

1.4. Authorize the transfer of the referent property to the Szczecin-Goleniow Airport Commercially Registered Company.

2. The minister of transport and maritime economy shall:

2.1. Enter Goleniow Airport in the State Register of Civilian Airports, as proposed by the Voivoda of Szczecin. Removal of the entry from the register requires approval from the minister of national defense;

2.2. Issue a license to pursue commercial aviation activities to the Szczecin-Goleniow Commercially Registered Company;

2.3. Ensure the provision of the necessary conditions for Szczecin-Goleniow Airport to be used for the requirements of air force exercises in peacetime, and coordinate with the minister of national defense the terms of such use.

3. The minister of national defense shall:

3.1. Approve the proposal by the voivoda of Szczecin, as provided by Section 35 of the Act on Land Development and Transfer of Immovable Property of 29 April 1995, to terminate the MON's authority to administer the Goleniow Airport complex;

3.2. Propose that the MON relinquish its administration of the woodland site within the Goleniow Airport

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complex in favor of the department of environmental protection, natural resources, and forestry concurrently with the decision referred to under 3.1. above;

3.3. Authorize the executive officer of Goleniow Regional Office to transfer to the voivoda of Szczecin the administration of the airport site, including the infrastructure facilities of a permanent nature for continued free use for aviation purposes. At the same time, the department of national defense shall ensure:

3.3.1. The clearing of the airport complex of any munitions or military equipment which could constitute danger to life and limb;

3.3.2. The transfer of all legal and cartographic documentation relating to the site as well as the technical documentation relating to the technical installations and airfield facilities;

3.3.3. The transfer of the real estate in its present technical condition.

4. Other decisions

4.1. Upon the cessation of the MON's administrative responsibility, the site and facilities shall be transferred via a formal handover-and-acceptance procedure no later than the end of 1995;

4.2. The transfer of the site and facilities on the terms set out by the commission and referred to under 3.3. above shall not involve any additional claims against the department of national defense;

4.3. The department of national defense shall discontinue its security operations in respect of the referent site and facilities as of the date of the transfer of the airport complex.

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Rights of Minorities Under Education Law

95P20990A Bucharest MONITORUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 167, 31 Jul 95 pp 1-17

["Text" of Law on Education No. 84 of 24 July 1995]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Parliament of Romania adopts the present Law on Education:

TITLE I

General Provisions

Article 1. The present law regulates the organization and operation of the national educational system. [passage omitted]

Article 5. Romanian citizens have equal rights of access to all levels and forms of education, regardless of their social or material situation, gender, race, nationality, or political or religious affiliation. [passage omitted]

Article 8. (1) Education at all levels is carried out in the Romanian language. Classes with Romanian as the language of instruction are organized and operate in every locality.

(2) The right of persons belonging to the national minorities to learn their mother tongue and the right be taught in this language are guaranteed, under the conditions of the present law.

(3) The study and mastery of the Romanian language in the schools, as the official state language, are obligatory for all Romanian citizens, regardless of nationality.

(4) Official school documents are written in the Romanian language both in state education and in private education. [passage omitted]

Article 10. [passage omitted] (3) Under the conditions of the present law, the Ministry of Education can approve the organization of educational institutions and units in which the teaching is done in languages of international use, In these schools, students of Romanian language and literature, the history of the Romanians and the geography of Romania are taught and tested in the Romanian language. [passage omitted]

(5) Under the conditions of the present law, educational units with Romanian as the language of instruction can be organized in Romania's diplomatic offices and cultural institutions abroad.

(6) The Ministry of Education, in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has the obligation to support education in the mother tongue in countries in which Romanians live, in accordance with the legislation of the respective state. [passage omitted]

Article 12. [passage omitted] (2) The organization and content of education cannot be structured according to exclusivist and discriminatory criteria of an ideological, political, religious or ethnic nature. Educational units and institutions created because of needs of a religious or linguistic nature, in which the teaching is in accordance with the choice of the parents or the legally appointed tutors of the pupils, are not considered to be structured according to exclusivist and discriminatory criteria. [passage omitted]

TITLE II

The National Education System [passage omitted]

Chapter IV

Secondary Education

Section 1

Gymnasium Education

Article 21. (1) Gymnasium education is carried out in schools with grades 1-8 or 1-12 (13). [passage omitted]

Article 22. (1) Gymnasium studies conclude with the taking of a competence exam, structured on the basis of a methodology prepared by the Ministry of Education, in the following subjects: Romanian language and literature, mathematics, the history of the Romanians, and the geography of Romania. Pupils belonging to the national minorities who attend gymnasium courses taught in their mother tongue must also take an examination in Romanian language and literature. [passage omitted]

Article 23. (1) Lycee education includes classes 9-12 (13) in day education and classes 9-13 in evening or nonattendance courses. [passage omitted]

Article 25. [passage omitted] (4) the entrance exam for the lycee consists of the following tests:

a) Romanian language and literature—written;

b) Mother tongue language and literature—written, an exam taken by candidates enrolled in the competition for admission to classes taught in the languages of the national minorities; [passage omitted]

Article 26. (1) Lycee studies conclude with the baccalaureate exam, which differs according to the profile of the lycee and of the class and the choice of the pupil. The baccalaureate exam consists of the following tests:

a) Romanian language and literature—written and oral;

b) Mother tongue language and literature—written and oral, for pupils who take lycee studies with a language

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of the national minorities as the language of instruction; [passage omitted]

d) History of the Romanians—oral; [passage omitted]

Chapter X

Military Education [passage omitted]

Article 101. The admission process and the education process in military institutions of all levels are carried out in the Romanian language. [passage omitted]

Chapter XI

Private Education [passage omitted]

Article 104. Private education operates in accordance with the law if: [passage omitted]

b) it is organized on nondiscriminatory principles and rejects antidemocratic, xenophobic, chauvinistic, and racist ideas, trends, and attitudes; [passage omitted]

Chapter XII

Education of Persons Belonging to the National Minorities

Article 118. Persons belonging to the national minorities have the right to study and to be instructed in their mother tongue in all levels and forms of education, under the conditions of the present law.

Article 119. (1) On the basis of local needs, groups, classes, sections or schools with the languages of the national minorities as the languages of instruction can be organized, upon request and under the conditions of the law.

(2) The provisions of paragraph (1) of this article will be applied without jeopardizing the teaching of the official language and the use of this language as the language of instruction.

Article 120.(1) In primary education, Romanian language and literature will be taught on the basis of curricula and school textbooks which are specially prepared for the respective minority.

(2) In gymnasium and lycee education, Romanian language and literature will be taught on the basis of curricula and textbooks which are identical with the ones used in classes in which the language of instruction is Romanian. Examinations in these subjects will be given in Romanian. In primary education, these subjects will be taught in the mother tongue.

(3) The history and traditions of the national minorities in Romania will be reflected in the curricula and textbooks for world history and the history of the Romanians.

(4) The history and traditions of the national minorities will be introduced as a subject in gymnasium education, upon request. The analytical curricula and textbooks for this subject will be approved by the Ministry of Education.

Article 121. Pupils belonging to the national minorities, who attend educational units in which Romanian is the language of instruction, are assured that, upon request and under the conditions of the law, they will be able to study their mother tongue and literature as well as the history and traditions of the respective national minority.

Article 122. (1) In state vocational and lycee education—in technical, economic, administrative, agricultural, forestry, and agronomical education—as well as in postlycee education, the specialized instruction is carried out in the Romanian language, while the students are assured that, when possible, they will also be able to learn specialized terminology in their mother tongue.

(2) In state medical university education, in the existing sections, specialized instruction can continue to be given in the mother tongue, with the obligation to learn the specialized terminology in the Romanian language.

Article 123. Upon request and under the conditions of the present law, groups and sections with instruction in the mother language can be organized in state university education for the purpose of training the necessary cadres for teaching and cultural-artistic activity.

Article 124. At all levels of education, the entrance competitions and the graduation examinations will be carried out in the Romanian language. Entrance competitions and graduation examinations can be carried out in the mother tongue in schools, classes and specialized subjects in which the respective mother tongue is the language of instruction, under the conditions of the present law.

Article 125. The Ministry of Education will ensure that teaching personnel have training and advanced training in the language of instruction and provide school textbooks and other teaching materials.

Article 126. A proportional representation of teaching cadres from the ranks of the minorities will be ensured, with respect for professional competence, in the management of educational units and institutions in which there are groups, classes or sections with instruction in languages of the national minorities. [passage omitted]

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TITLE IV

Direction of Education

Chapter I

Ministry of Education and Other National Bodies [passage omitted]

Article 141. The Ministry of Education directs the national education system, exercising, mainly, the following functions; [passage omitted]

u) it collaborates, on the basis of protocols, with states in which populations of Romanian nationality or origin live, for the promotion and development of education in the Romanian language; [passage omitted]

Chapter II

School Inspectorates [passage omitted]

Article 143. [passage omitted] (2) The structure of the school inspectorates in counties with education in the languages of the national minorities also includes school inspectors for this education. [passage omitted]

TITLE V

Human Resources

Chapter I

Education Cadres, Pupils and Students [passage omitted]

Article 154. [passage omitted] (5) Any candidate in a competition for a teaching position in which the language of instruction is different from the one in which he completed his higher education studies must take a test before a specialized commission on his knowledge of the language in which he will be teaching. [passage omitted]

Article 174. [passage omitted] (3) Pupils and students benefit from 50 percent reductions in admissions to museums, concerts, theater and opera performances, films, and other cultural and sports events organized by public institutions. [passage omitted]

(5) Ethnic Romanian pupils and students from outside the country who are receiving stipends from the Romanian state can attend the events mentioned in paragraph (3) free of charge. [passage omitted]

Article 176. Educational institutions and units can receive donations from Romania and from abroad, in accordance with the law, if they serve the educational policy of the national educational system and are not against the interests of the Romanian state.

TITLE VII

Temporary and Final Provisions [passage omitted]

Article 180. Parents or legally appointed tutors decide on the right of a minor child to attend school with the Romanian language or the language of a national minority as the language of instruction. [passage omitted]

Cluj Mayor To Arrest Protesters of Education Law

LD2908164995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The mayor [Gheorghe Funar] of Cluj-Napoca will have every Hungarian arrested who dares to protest against the Romanian education law in the coming days. Funar, who is renowned for his extremist views, at the same time gave orders to make sure that ethnic Hungarian students cannot travel to the civic forum in Odorheiu Secuiesc at the weekend, where the participants want to raise their voices against the Romanian measures that affect the minorities disadvantageously.

Tinca Wishes To Resume Diplomatic Career

AU3008094995 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 28 Aug 95 p 5

[Article by Tiberiu Avram: "Gheorghe Tinca, Minister of National Defense, Stated That He Wants To Return to the Foreign Ministry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During a news conference held on Sunday, 27 August 1995, before leaving Suceava County, Gheorghe Tinca, the minister of national defense, stated to journalists: "You have not asked me what I would do in the future. So I will put that question to myself and answer it, too: I want to return to the foreign affairs [ministry]. That is where my place is."

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Federal

Karadzic Reportedly Trying To Meet With Holbrooke

LD3008113695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ivana Sutlic-Peric reporting for Croatian radio news from Belgrade:

Richard Holbrooke and other high-ranking U.S. envoys are expected to arrive in Belgrade any minute now, while independent media are continuously broadcasting reports on the latest NATO air strikes on Serb targets in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Belgrade BETA news agency reports, quoting sources close to the Serbian Government, that, apart from Bosnian Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha, Karadzic and most probably Krajisnik are currently in Belgrade in an effort to meet Richard Holbrooke; the Pale delegation is ready, in the presence of Milosevic, to accept the U.S. initiative, even to sign some documents, BETA says, quoting Bosnian Serb sources with regard to the latter statement.

Gen Perisic Receives Senator Kerrey for Talks

LD2908165995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1129 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of staff of the Yugoslav Army, and colleagues today received U.S. Senator Robert Kerrey, the information service of the Yugoslav Army General Staff has announced.

In open talks, Gen. Perisic and Senator Kerrey exchanged views on military aspects of the situation in the area of the former Yugoslavia in connection with the U.S. initiative to renew the peace negotiations, the statement says.

Government Condemns Sarajevo Massacre

LD2908140495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1334 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] has condemned most sharply the massacre of innocent civilians in Sarajevo.

The FRY has always condemned such acts, regardless of who committed them. It is necessary to carry out a detailed investigation and to find and appropriately punish the perpetrators of this heinous crime, reads a statement issued by the Federal Secretariat for Information.

This latest act of barbarism has a political background and is an attack on peace and the current peace efforts. The FRY expresses hope that the peace process will continue and that the parties in conflict, with the help of the international community, will find a final peaceful solution to the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The FRY Government firmly favors a search for a solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia by political means. It is necessary to undertake all measures aimed at stopping any efforts being made to halt the latest peace initiative and to exacerbate the conflict in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which could have unforseeable consequences for the region and Europe.

Serbia

Milosevic, Senator Kerrey Discuss Ties, Peace

LD2908133795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1144 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received U.S. Senator Robert Kerrey, who is visiting our country. During the talks, the esteemed U.S. guest expressed a desire to learn more about our country's view and stands on the current political situation in the region and prospects for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in former Yugoslavia.

It was stressed that peace and stability in the Balkans can be secured only if the military option is ruled out as a way of resolving the crisis, and only if all sides in the conflict are treated objectively. At the same time, it is necessary to give resolute support to everyone who is sincerely advocating peace and making constructive efforts aimed at securing a successful outcome of the peace process.

It was stressed that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia aspires to develop wide-ranging cooperation with the United States, the country with which Serbia established diplomatic relations over a century ago. The traditionally good relations between our country and the United States were confirmed through their alliance in both world wars. Hence, the full normalization of relations between the United States and our country at this moment would be of special importance for the consolidation and normalization of the overall regional situation and a step toward eliminating flash points, which are being exacerbated by those advocating foreign military intervention in the Balkans in their desire to drag Yugoslavia into the war.

It was stressed that our country highly regards U.S. attempts and efforts to reach peace, and the expectation was voiced that the forthcoming talks and activities by the American peace mission will pave the way to a just and lasting solution to the crisis.

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Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic and Rudolf Perina, U.S. charge d'affaires in the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, participated in the talks.

Milosevic, Yakashi Discuss Current Situation

LD2908155795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic this afternoon received Yasushi Akashi, special envoy of the UN secretary general for the former Yugoslavia, with colleagues.

During the talks, views and information relating to the latest development of the situation in the war-affected areas were exchanged.

The talks focused in particular on the realization of the UN peacekeeping forces' mandate and their efforts to protect the civilian population.

It was stressed that the continuation of the civil war is daily causing fresh casualties, prolonging the suffering of the civilian population, and resulting in great material devastation that is destroying the prospects for a more rapid recovery and a return to normal life.

President Milosevic stressed that it is precisely for this reason that it was most important that all armed conflicts cease immediately, but also that the peace process should be resumed with even more persistence and a stable political solution finally achieved, something that would guarantee peace and the overall normalization of the political situation in the Balkans.

The vital need for the United Nations to take effective measures designed to prevent fresh aggressive actions, the outcome of which could only be fresh bloodshed, was noted. For the United Nations, this is an obligation of primary importance and something on which, at the same time, its own reputation depends.

Milan Milutinovic, the Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs, also took part in the talks.

Akashi Comments on Talks

LD2908162995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 29 (TANJUG)—Dramatic actions can be expected around Sarajevo, the special envoy of the U.N. secretary-general Yasushi Akashi said Tuesday in Belgrade speaking of possible developments following the explosion in central Sarajevo in which 37 people were killed.

Following a meeting with Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic, Akashi told the press that U.N. military experts had analysed craters made by five shells and drawn conclusions "beyond reasonable doubt" on the directions from which they had been fired.

It cannot be stated that the shells were fired from the direction of Muslim positions, Akashi believes.

Referring to possible bombing of Serb positions by NATO, Akashi said such a decision was no longer up to him and that he did not know whether it had already been taken.

Akashi expressed deep concern over possible consequences, adding that possible effects on U.N. personnel in the field had also been considered.

Akashi underlined that his talk with President Milosevic was productive. It focused on the situation in Bosnia and around Sarajevo, as well as on eastern Slavonia where progress has been achieved in calming the military situation, especially following the meeting between warring sides. Agreement has been reached on withdrawal from zones of separation, and representatives of the warring sides will pursue negotiations, Akashi said.

Milosevic, Stoltenberg Hold Belgrade Peace Talks

LD2908131995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1227 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received cochairman of the Geneva conference Thorvald Stoltenberg today. Their talks focused on issues concerning the peace process and securing the necessary coordination in moves aimed at a political solution to the crisis, the Serbian president's office announced.

SPS: RS Should Have Accepted Peace Earlier

AU2908144395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 95

[Statement by Bosko Perosevic, chairman of the Vojvodina Executive Council and vice president of the Socialist Party of Serbia]

[FBIS Translated Text] All this could have happened a lot earlier, that is, had the Serb Republic [RS] leadership accepted the Contact Group peace plan and everything else offered a year and a half ago, we would not have lost Krajina, and we would not have the exodus; we would not have all the misfortunes that have befallen the Serb people and the mother country in this entire affair.

By making this move, they have admitted their error; however, time and everything that will happen in the

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coming period should be their judge. The move is good because it will create a chance for negotiations [words indistinct] the Serb people's comprehensive interest, rather than just parts of it, which is how the RS leadership saw things up until now. I hope that [words indistinct] is actually the people, not the RS leadership and that is how it should be in the future: the voice and decisions of the people should be heard more in place of individuals who make bad moves for which the people later suffer.

SPO Says Pale Should 'Embrace' U.S. Plan

AU2908191495 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 Aug 95

[Report by Ikonija Vostinic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serb Republic Assembly, as we have heard, voiced a readiness to negotiate about peace and take part in the peace negotiations and hailed the latest U.S. peace initative for the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia. The international community, however, does not expect the Serb Republic to hail the peace initiative but to embrace the peace plan as the negotiating basis for the continuation of the peace process. The Serb Republic Assembly should have embraced rather than hailed the latest U.S. peace initiative for the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia, it was stressed at today's news conference by the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO]:

[Vostinic] The leadership of the Republic of Serb Krajina [as heard] should embrace the Contact Group peace plan and the latest U.S. peace plan immediately and unconditionally, Ivan Kovacevic, SPO spokesman, emphasized when he talked about the current political situation to the correspondents.

There is no alternative to peace for rational people. However, those like the leaders from Pale who do not want peace will inevitably be faced with the consequences of such a decision. Now is the time for wise and decisive steps and not for haggling over percentages of territories or spiting the international community, Serbia, and the FRY, the SPO warns.

A solution cannot be achieved by violence, and the leadership of the Republic of Serb Krajina [as heard], they emphasized, should embrace both peace plans on offer because they deliver the cessation of war and the commencement of talks, which is the only way toward peace and the only solution, it was concluded at the end of the news conference.

'Serbians' Oppose Dominance of Montenegro, Krajina Subjects

AU3008073495 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 95 p 5

[Article by Z. Dimkic: "Attack on Brothers With a Pamphlet"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A pamphlet issued by the Association of Indigenous Serbians at a time when the entire country is caring for the Krajina refugees has disturbed the residents of Toplice. The text, or the proclamation, issued by the Association (seated at 5 Masarikova in Belgrade), which has somehow conveniently appeared under strange circumstances in Toplice, where there are over 900 refugees, states, among other things, the following:

"The Serbians have created and rounded off their current territories in World War I without the help of Serbs from the other side of the Drina and Montenegrins."

The pamphlet claims that, at the end of World War II, the subjects of Montenegro, Lika, and Herzegovina, together with the Soviet Union troops, occupied Serbia and set up non-Serbian, dictatorial authorities.

According to the signatory of the pamphlet, Vlajko Popovic, almost all top posts were taken by the so-called non-Serbians, and his aim and the aim of like-minded people is to free Serbia of the alleged domination of the Montenegrin, Herzegovina, and Lika home enclaves. Another aim of the association is to create an army and police that would consist exclusively of the citizens of Serbia because, as the pamphlet states, only people from Krajina are currently being hired and employed in these organizations.

To make everything even more "dramatic," the author of the pamphlet, or several of them, claim that the indigenous Serbians are being dismissed from jobs en masse as a technological surplus and their places being taken by deserters and refugees, the compatriots of those in power; that student homes are also occupied by non-Serbians; and that Serbia has lost in the recent wars outside its territory more than 16,000 young people and has 27,000 war disabled.

"The Truth About Serbia," which is the title of this pamphlet, has caused a disturbance but did not accomplish its aim because the residents of Toplice, in cooperation with state and humanitarian organizations, are wholeheartedly extending help in housing refugees, believing that in the future other refugees will receive the same treatment and that the last slice of bread will be shared with those who are accommodated here.

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Comment on Expulsions of Hungarians by Krajina Serbs

AU2508152895 Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 26 Aug 95 pp 74-75

[Commentary by Karoly Keszeg, chief editor of Novi Sad NAPLO: "Hungarians in Infinity"]

[FBIS Translated Text] They want to settle some homeless Serb people in Kosovo, and Vojvodina already has more than 50,000 of them. America and the whole world are nevertheless worried that the Kosovo plain gets set on fire, which will put an end to all plans of settlement. There are some 2 million Albanians in Serbia's southern province, while hardly more than 300,000 Hungarians are living in its northern province. Although Hungary is close, it cannot be a spare home for the Hungarians living here. Those who were born here would only think of leaving as a last resort.

The Hungarians of Vojvodina or southern area [Hungarian term for same area] are mainly worried because they cannot rely much on anyone but themselves. The Hungarian Government can make statements but these are no more—cannot be more—than moral support. The civilized world is powerless with a power that does not respect its own people, drags it from war to war, brings senseless sanctions on it, beats it, drives it, and humiliates it. The local Hungarians can very well remember the times when they were citizens with equal rights in the country that now tries to deny them almost everything, from their schooling to the conditions of their survival, to the preservation of their identity. The high-sounding statements are good only to lull the attention. What has proved to be lasting in the past 75 years from the experience of the Hungarians is that their work and knowledge has always been needed, and, whatever revenge the authorities took, it never wanted to settle them elsewhere.

In the 1970's and 1980's, Serbs moved to Serbia from Kosovo to escape Albanian expansion and sold their land and houses in time. However, no one explained to the Hungarians fleeing from the mobilizations that they should not squander their private property.

The refugees from Krajina do not know where their fate will chase them, but they know very well that they do not want to go to Kosovo. They do not want to become second-rate citizens. Even the most unfortunate of them do not understand why the Krajina was lost without a fight. However, it does not occur to them for even a moment that, without the war, they could still be running their own lives. The most astute of them are going from house to house in grandiose cars and will not move in if the house has no water mains. The Vojvodina Hungarians might be lucky if they live by rivers. The walls are damp and the houses are not desirable. They have only to endure the psychological pressure of the chetnik types wanting to make everyone who is not a Serb move elsewhere, and the extremist refugees, firing pistols, going on the rampage with the slogan that, because they were driven out of their homes, they will now drive others out of theirs. The age of searching for homes has come again, a large section of the population has moved away in accordance with the plans of the authorities. The Hungarians acted most harmfully against themselves when they started to fight over the spoils—who was right, those who left or those who remained?—and then fight over money, morally losing the respect they had gained in resisting the war. The Serbs, who arrived here after Krajina's defeat, moved so quickly into Szilagyi [Svilojevo] because the Hungarians did not pull together and informed them about the others' empty homes.

The current situation again forces the Hungarians to help each other because now it is not simply a question of who is right. For some time, the question has been whether this culture will have another chance to reformulate its values or will be dissolved by the self-destruction forced on it by others. The past few years have created the recognition that no amount of lamentation can replace action. This means that both those are wrong, who, leaving the place, can only educate, and especially those who, remaining here, stay silent. They only increase the fear.

Private Firms More Effective Than State Ones

95BA0307B Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 95 p 18

[Article by T. Nikolic: "Efficiency of Enterprise"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Judging by the report "Results of the Operation of Private Legal Persons in the Republic of Serbia in 1994," which was composed by Serbia's Service for Payment Transactions, private enterprise is considerably more economically efficient than other forms of ownership, especially in comparison with socialized or state enterprises, as confirmed by the following data (table 1).

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Economy in the Republic of Serbia—1994 Annual Account (amounts in millions of dinars, structure in percent, with overall economy = 100)

	Overall Economy	Private Ownership	Structure (in Percent)	
			Private Ownership	Other Forms of Ownership
Number of legal persons	60,616	51,403	84.8	15.2
Number of employees	1,650,493	127,301	7.7	92.3
Total earnings	61,883	15,356	24.8	75.2
Total expenditures	65,212	15,230	23.4	76.6
Profit	971	494	50.9	49.1
Loss	4,318	384	8.9	91.1
Business assets	101,838	9,587	9.4	90.6
—Permanent assets	74,224	3,169	4.3	95.7
—Working assets	25,921	6,380	24.6	75.4
Capital assets	71,018	4,177	5.9	94.1

Source: Service for Payment Transactions, chief branch for the territory of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade: "Results of the Operation of Private Legal Persons in the Republic of Serbia in 1994," June 1995

As one can see, an annual account for 1994 was submitted by 51,403 private legal persons in the economy, which constitutes 84.8 percent of the total number of legal persons in the economy which submitted an annual account. The private sector, however, accounts for only 7.7 percent of the total number of people employed in the Serbian economy, along with only 9.4 perent of the business assets and 5.9 percent of the capital assets, which indicates that private enterprise's share is still modest.

Admittedly, private enterprise accounts for almost one-fourth of the total earnings and one-half of the profit obtained, but that cannot significantly improve the unfavorable overall financial results of the Serbian economy, which is indicated by the following indices (table 2).

	Overall Economy	Private Ownership	Other Forms of Ownership
1. Ratio of total earnings and total expenditures (total expenditures=100)	94.9	100.8	93.1
2. Ratio of total expenditures and total earnings (total expenditures=100)	105.4	99.8	107.4
3. Profit as share of total earnings, in percent	1.57	3.22	1.03
4. Loss as share of total earnings, in percent	6.98	2.50	8.46
5. Ratio of profit and capital assets, in percent	1.37	11.83	0.71

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At the level of the overall economy, expenditures are 5.4 percent higher than total earnings; for private ownership they are 0.2 percent less, and for all other forms of ownership, they are 7.4 percent higher. Accordingly, the overall relationships in the economy are determined by those forms of ownership which are dominant, because losses are 6.98 percent of the total earnings of the overall economy, 2.50 percent for private ownership, but 8.46 percent for other forms of ownership.

The efficiency of private enterprise, however, can be seen from its share in the profits, i.e., when profit is a measure of success in doing business. Thus, in the private sector, 3.22 dinars in profits were achieved for every 100 dinars of total earnings, which is three times higher than the part of the economy with other forms of ownership, or twice as high as for the overall economy.

By comparing profits and capital assets, as measures of the productivity of capital, we obtain even clearer evidence of the superiority of private enterprise. The private sector thus achieved 11.83 dinars in profits per 100 dinars of capital assets, which is almost 17 times higher than that index for the portion of the economy with other forms of ownership, or almost 9 times more favorable than the overall ratios in the economy of the Republic of Serbia.

Since we also have losers within private enterprise, it is interesting to look at the structure of the economy, both from the standpoint of the financial results (losers and those with positive results), and from the standpoint of ownership (table 3).

Structure of the Economy

	Overall Economy		Private Ownership		Other Forms of Ownership	
	Losers	Positive	Losers	Positive	Losers	Positive
Number of legal persons	22.9	77.1	21.1	78.8	31.9	68.1
Number of employees	39.3	60.7	21.1	78.8	40.9	59.1
Total earnings	29.5	70.5	12.0	88.0	35.2	64.8
Total expenditures	34.5	65.5	14.5	85.5	40.6	59.4
Capital assets	41.9	58.1	15.9	84.1	43.5	56.5

In the case of private ownership, every fifth worker works in an enterprise that has recorded losses, and in the case of all other forms of ownership, every second worker, which has also affected overall relations in Serbia's economy. Furthermore, in the portion of the economy with other forms of ownership, the losers have 43.5 percent of the capital assets, because those are the so-called large systems, but in the case of private ownership the losers have only one-eighth of the capital assets.

The trends in the average net earnings per worker also vary greatly in private enterprise, both compared to the average for the overall economy, and compared to other forms of ownership, as the following summary illustrates (table 4).

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Average Monthly Net Earnings per Worker, Jan-Dec 1994 (net earnings in dinars, relationships of levels in percent)

	Total	Relationship of Level	Losers	Relationship of Level	Positive	Relationship of Level
Overall economy	164	100.0	151	100.0	173	100.0
Private ownership	117	71.3	89	58.9	125	72.3
Other forms of ownership	168	102.4	154	102.0	178	102.9

As we can see, the average monthly net earnings per worker in private enterprise, in the portion with a positive financial result, are 125 dinars, which is 18.8 percent less than the average earnings in the part of the economy with other forms of ownership that had losses, because their average earnings were 154 dinars.

In spite of reservations about the validity of the data presented on earnings and profits, we can say that the necessary link between profits and workers' earnings has only been established in private enterprise. Admittedly, these economic categories and relationships are in mutual conflict (competition), but that is a condition for economic efficiency in doing business in a method of production based on capital. The sooner this is realized, the sooner we will get out of the economic crisis.

Kosovo

Belgrade Urged To Stop Settling Refugees in Kosova

AU2908151095 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 28 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Emigrations Commission [KE] of the Kosova Parliament, in a letter sent to international institutions, including Ms. Sadako Ogata, UN Commissioner for Refugees, Ms. Manuela Aguiar, chairwoman of the EC Commission on Refuges and Demography, and Mr. Alfons Cuco, vice-president of the EC Commission on Migrations, Refugees and Demography, warned over the recent Serbian regime schemes to further colonize Kosova with Serbs and on the danger such moves can pose to the stability in the region.

The letter says that "Kosova is a very volatile region and a possible flashpoint for a conflict break out which could engulf the entire Balkans and wider." The Commission also reminds that the settlement of more people in Kosova could further aggravate the life in Kosova if one bears in mind the fact that "Kosova is a region with almost the highest population density in Europe (212 inhabitants per 1 square km) and one of the least economically developed regions in Europe." The settlement of Serb refugees in Kosova is being carried out at a time Serbia has compelled hundreds of thousand of Albanians flee their homeland and are denied repatriation, says the letter, and appeals on the international institution to pressurize on Belgrade to bring to an immediate end the settlement of Serbs in Kosova.

'Incentives' Provided to Refugees

AU2908144695 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 28 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Serbian mass media have been giving a wide coverage to the settlement of Serb refugees in Kosova and the incentives the Belgrade regime has been providing to all the Serbs who wish to permanently stay in Kosova. The TANJUG News Agency reported today that some 6,000 Serb refugees from Krajina have been stationed in Kosova and that accommodation has already been granted for another 6,000. TANJUG, however, focuses mostly on advertizing incentives the Serbian regime has been offering to Serb arrivals in Kosova. It brings a list of the Kosova enterprises and firms Serbs would be given jobs. The Mitrovica-based "Trepa" mining and industrial complex will in the first phase provide employment to 500 Serbs while later another 1,000 will be given jobs there. According to TANJUG, Serbs will also be given jobs at the Binacka Morava firm in Gjilan [Gnjilane], "Ramiz Sadiku" construction company in Prishtina [Pristina] (renamed by Serbs into "Grading), etc. However, the Serbian regime is more intent on stationing Serb arrivals in Dukagjini, justifying it that there is an excess of fertile farmland and more life opportunities.

TANJUG says that as many as 30,000 hectares of high-quality farm land are available for Serb arrivals in the Dukagjini valley, calling it as "the state land" or the property of "failed agricultural combines." It is widely known that the "state land" the agency is referring to was

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the property of the agricultural cooperatives the citizens of Kosova have been working on for decades. Following the Serbian crackdown on Kosova in 1990, Albanian workers were expelled from their jobs in a sweeping-out fashion. The Serbian-imposed management in the agricultural cooperatives and virtually all the Kosova factories, plants, and enterprises subsequently embarked on a widespread campaign of abusive practices of the what-was-called state property by either selling it fabulously cheap or by transferring it to Serbia, in the name of a so-called economic integrations. Moreover, the property of the agricultural cooperatives was expropriated by the citizens of Kosova through the so-called agrarian reform and other ways.

Sources from Kosova centers say that over the past week-end, more Serb refuges were brought to Kosova. Today morning, six buses with about 300 Serb arrivals reached Prishtina. They were held for about one hour at the buildings of the Serb-run Prishtina Municipal Assembly while now (13:00 hrs) they are reported to be gathered in front of the buildings of the Kosova Parliament. Sources indicate that Serb refugees, apparently dissatisfied for having been brought to Kosova, have been attempting to get in the buses again demanding transfer to Serbia. Some 120 Serb arrivals were reported to have reached Obiliq [Obilic] yesterday and accommodated in the restaurants of the "Kosova" electric power industry.

Albanian 'Terrorist Group' Ambushes FRY Patrol

LD2908202295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1951 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—The information service of the Yugoslav 3d Army has announced that a terrorist group ambushed a Yugoslav Army border patrol on the Yugoslav-Albanian border at 1315 today and opened fire on it with automatic weapons in the region of the Dejan Radanovic watch-tower (in the municipality of Djakovica), about 300 meters inside the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

On this occasion, Private Zike Darko Sretovic from Ribnica, near Kraljevo, who was born on 8 May 1971 and who had been serving in the Yugoslav Army since 18 December 1994, was killed, while Private Velicka Nebojsa Ivancev, from the village of Trnski Odrovci near Dimitrovgrad, born 4 August 1976, who has been serving in the Yugoslav Army since 15 March 1995, was wounded. The wounded Private Nebojsa Ivancev was immediately given first aid and taken to the Military Medical Academy, and his life is not in danger.

After the perfidious attack, making use of bad weather and poor visibility, the perpetrators of this heinous crime escaped to the territory of the Republic of Albania.

The competent investigating authorities immediately went to the scene of the incident in order to establish all of the circumstances in which this terrorist act took place, the statement says.

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